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FROM THE

EARLIEST PERIOD TO THE PRESENT TIME

DAVID J. BREWER

EDITOR

EDWARD A. ALLEN WILLIAM SCHUYLER

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TEN VOLUMES

VOL. X.

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CLEMENT L. VALLANDIGHAM

(1820–1871)

THE compilers of a recent 'Dictionary of Names' call Clement L. Vallandigham "an American Democratic politician, leader of the Copperheads during the Civil War." This is intended to be invidious, but it may be accepted as without prejudice to a man who stood for one extreme of principle as emphatically as Wendell Phillips and William Lloyd Garrison did for another. The great Whig leaders of Europe in the eighteenth century, the great Republican and Democratic leaders of America in the first quarter of the nineteenth, taught that the world cannot be forced to become civilized — that coercion in the hope of advancing civilization involves and necessitates reaction, and that every war forced as a mode of propagating ideas supplants progress with reaction as far as its influence goes. They held a theory which afterwards came to be known as "Evolution," — the idea that progress is a mere mode of mind and morals, and that it must come from slow growth, — the patient, charitable, long-suffering propagation of moral ideas with full confidence in their ultimate triumph. As a corollary of this, they taught the nonintervention of one people in the affairs of another and, that each people might be evolved most effectively by pressure from its own "environment," they advocated "local self-government," the disbandment of standing armies, the disuse of naval armament, and the utmost possible reliance on moral rather than on physical force. Cobden and Bright advocated this theory in England in connection with the agitation for universal free trade. In America the "Copperheads" of the North represented it with an obstinacy often as devoted and daring as that John Brown showed when he invaded Virginia as an exponent of the conflicting idea that it is the highest duty of every brave and manly man to compel his neighbors, at the peril of his life and theirs, to be just, and just at once. The Copperhead of the North, the Abolitionist of the South often represented the highest type of individual courage, standing, the one and the other, isolated in the community, and vindicating each his ideas of right at the risk of liberty and fortune, if not of life itself. Such an individualist was Vallandigham when he made his speech of February 20th, 1861, against Centralization, and, accepting him as "the leader of the Copperheads," it is as such that posterity will judge him.

He was born at New Lisbon, Ohio, July 29th, 1820. In the congressional campaign of 1858, his eloquence made him one of the most prominent Democratic leaders of Ohio, and his lack of caution or his contempt for it, added to his celebrity by making his utterances frequently available as «campaign material» for his opponents. He was elected to Congress in 1857 and served until 1863, when he was banished to the South as «a war measure.» From the South he went to Canada, and in 1863 the «Copperheads» of Ohio nominated him for Governor. He was defeated and was not afterwards prominent in politics. He died at Lebanon, Ohio, June 17th, 1871, from the accidental discharge of a pistol. It was asserted by many at the time that he had committed suicide, but as the prejudices of the Civil War period abate, it becomes evident that there was no just ground for the assertion. As a leader, Vallandigham lacked balance and the faculty of calculation. He was swayed too much by his emotions, and his intellectual powers, which might otherwise have exerted a controlling influence, were too often held in abeyance by the force of his feelings. W. V. B.

CENTRALIZATION AND THE REVOLUTIONARY POWER OF FEDERAL PATRONAGE

(From a Speech on the State of the Union, Delivered in the House of Representatives, February 20th, 1861)

DEVOTED as I am to the Union, I have yet no eulogies to pronounce upon it to-day. It needs none. Its highest eulogy is the history of this country for the last seventy years. The triumphs of war and the arts of peace,—science; civilization; wealth; population; commerce; trade; manufacture; literature; education; justice; tranquillity; security to life, to person, to property; material happiness; common defense; national renown; all that is implied in the «blessings of liberty»; these, and more, have been its fruits from the beginning to this hour. These have enshrined it in the hearts of the people; and, before God, I believe they will restore and preserve it. And to-day they demand of us, their embassadors and representatives, to tell them how this great work is to be accomplished.

Sir, it has well been said that it is not to be done by eulogies. Eulogy is for times of peace. Neither is it to be done by lamentations over its decline and fall. These are for the poet and the

historian, or for the exiled statesman who may chance to sit amid the ruins of desolated cities. Ours is a practical work; and it is the business of the wise and practical statesman to inquire first what the causes are of the evils for which he is required to devise a remedy.

Sir, the subjects of mere partisan controversy which have been chiefly discussed here and in the country, so far, are not the causes, but only the symptoms or developments of the malady which is to be healed. These causes are to be found in the nature of man and in the peculiar nature of our system of governments. Thirst for power and place, or pre-eminence,— in a word, ambition,— is one of the strongest and earliest developed passions of man. It is as discernible in the schoolboy as in the statesman. It belongs alike to the individual and to masses of men, and is exhibited in every gradation of society, from the family up to the highest development of the State. In all voluntary associations of any kind, and in every ecclesiastical organization, also, it is equally manifested. It is the sin by which the angels fell. No form of government is exempt from it; for even the absolute monarch is obliged to execute his authority through the instrumentality of agents; and ambition here courts one master instead of many masters. As between foreign States, it manifests itself in schemes of conquest and territorial aggrandizement. In despotisms, it is shown in intrigues, assassinations, and revolts. In constitutional monarchies and in aristocracies, it exhibits itself in contests among the different orders of society and the several interests of agriculture, trade, commerce, and the professions. In democracies, it is seen everywhere, and in its highest development; for here all the avenues to political place and preferment, and emolument, too, are open to every citizen; and all movements and all interests of society, and every great question, — moral, social, religious, scientific,— no matter what, assumes, at some time or other, a political complexion, and forms a part of the election issues and legislation of the day. Here, when combined with interest, and where the action of the Government may be made a source of wealth, then honor, virtue, patriotism, religion, all perish before it. No restraints and no compacts can bind it.

In a Federal Republic all these evils are found in their amplest proportions, and take the form also of rivalries between the States; or more commonly and finally at least,— especially where

geographical and climatic divisions exist, or where several contiguous States are in the same interest, and sometimes where they are similar in institutions or modes of thought, or in habits and customs,—of sectional jealousies and controversies which end always, sooner or later, in either a dissolution of the Union between them, or the destruction of the federal character of the Government. But however exhibited, whether in federative or in consolidated Governments, or whatever the development may be, the great primary cause is always the same—the feeling that might makes right; that the strong ought to govern the weak; that the will of the mere and absolute majority of numbers ought always to control; that fifty men may do what they please with forty-nine; and that minorities have no rights, or at least that they shall have no means of enforcing their rights, and no remedy for the violation of them. And thus it is that the strong man oppresses the weak, and strong communities, States and sections, aggress upon the rights of weaker States, communities, and sections. This is the principle; but I propose to speak of it to-day only in its development in the political, and not the personal or domestic relations.

Sir, it is to repress this principle that Governments, with their complex machinery, are instituted among men; though in their abuse, indeed, Governments may themselves become the worst engines of oppression. For this purpose treaties are entered into, and the law of nations acknowleged between foreign States. Constitutions and municipal laws and compacts are ordained, or enacted, or concluded, to secure the same great end. No men understood this, the philosophy and aim of all just government, better than the framers of our Federal Constitution. No men tried more faithfully to secure the Government which they were instituting, from this mischief; and had the country over which it was established been circumscribed by nature to the limits which it then had, their work would have, perhaps, been perfect, enduring for ages. But the wisest among them did not foresee—who, indeed, that was less than omniscient could have foreseen?—the amazing rapidity with which new settlements and new States have sprung up, as if by enchantment, in the wilderness; or that political necessity or lust for territorial aggrandizement would in sixty years have given us new Territories and States equal in extent to the entire area of the country for which they were then framing a Government? They were not priests or

prophets to that God of manifest destiny whom we now worship, and will continue to worship, whether united into one Confederacy still, or divided into many. And yet it is this very acquisition of territory which has given strength, though not birth, to that sectionalism which already has broken in pieces this, the noblest Government ever devised by the wit of man. Not foreseeing the evil or the necessity, they did not guard against its results. Believing that the great danger to the system which they were about to inaugurate lay rather in the jealousy of the State governments towards the power and authority delegated to the Federal Government, they defended it diligently against that danger. Apprehending that the larger States might aggress upon the rights of the smaller States, they provided that no State should, without its consent, be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate. Lest the Legislative Department might encroach upon the Executive, they gave to the President the self-protecting power of a qualified veto, and in turn made the President impeachable by the two houses of Congress. Satisfied that the several State governments were strong enough to protect themselves from Federal aggressions, if, indeed, not too strong for the efficiency of the General Government, they thus devised a system of internal checks and balances looking chiefly to the security of the several departments from aggression upon each other, and to prevent the system from being used to the oppression of individuals. I think, sir, that the debates in the Federal Convention and in the conventions of the several States called to ratify the Constitution, as well as the cotemporaneous letters and publications of the time, will support me in the statement that the friends of the Constitution wholly underestimated the power and influence of the Government which they were establishing. Certainly, sir, many of the ablest statesmen of that day earnestly desired a stronger Government; and it was the policy of Mr. Hamilton, and of the Federal party which he created, to strengthen the General Government; and hence the funding and protective systems — the national bank, and other similar schemes of finance, along with the "general-welfare doctrine," and a liberal construction of the Constitution.

Sir, the framers of the Constitution — and I speak it reverently, but with the freedom of history — failed to foresee the strength and centralizing tendencies of the Federal Government. They mistook wholly the real danger to the system. They looked

for it in the aggressions of the large States upon the small States without regard to geographical position, and accordingly guarded jealously in this direction, giving for this purpose, as I have said, the power of a self-protecting veto in the Senate to the small States, by means of their equal suffrage in that Chamber, and forbidding even amendment of the Constitution in this particular, without the consent of every State. But they seem wholly to have overlooked the danger of sectional combinations as against other sections, and to the injury and oppression of other sections, to secure possession of the several departments of the Federal Government, and of the vast powers and influence which belong to them. In like manner, too, they seem to have utterly underestimated slavery as a disturbing element in the system, possibly because it existed still in almost every State; but chiefly because the growth and manufacture of cotton had scarcely yet been commenced in the United States: because cotton was not yet crowned king. The vast extent of the patronage of the Executive, and the immense power and influence which it exerts, seem also to have been altogether underestimated. And independent of all these, or rather perhaps in connection with them, there were inherent defects incident to the nature of all Governments; some of them peculiar to our system, and to the circumstances of the country, and the character of the people over which it was instituted, which no human sagacity could have foreseen, but which have led to evils, mischiefs, and abuses, which time and experience alone have disclosed. The men who made our Government were human; they were men, and they made it for men of like passions and infirmities with themselves.

. . . . . .

Such, sir, I repeat, then, is the central Government of the United States, and such its great and tremendous powers and honors and emoluments. With such powers, such honors, such patronage, and such revenues, is it any wonder, I ask, that everything, yes, even virtue, truth, justice, patriotism, and the Constitution itself, should be sacrificed to obtain possession of it? There is no such glittering prize to be contended for every four or two years, anywhere throughout the whole earth; and accordingly, from the beginning, and every year more and more, it has been the object of the highest and lowest, the purest and the most corrupt ambition known among men. Parties and combinations have existed from the first, and have been changed and

reorganized and built up and cast down from the earliest period of our history to this day, all for the purpose of controlling the powers, and honors, and the moneys of the central Government. For a good many years parties were organized upon questions of finance or of political economy. Upon the subjects of a permanent public debt, a national bank, the public deposits, a protective tariff, internal improvements, the disposition of the public lands, and other questions of a similar character, all of them looking to the special interests of the moneyed classes, parties were for a long while divided. The different kinds of capitalists sometimes also disagreed among themselves — the manufacturers with the commercial men of the country; and in this manner party issues were occasionally made up. But the great dividing line at last was always between capital and labor — between the few who had money and who wanted to use the Government to increase and "protect" it, as the phrase goes, and the many who had little but wanted to keep it, and who only asked Government to let them alone.

Money, money, sir, was at the bottom of the political contests of the times; and nothing so curiously demonstrates the immense power of money as the fact that in a country where there is no entailment of estates, no law of primogeniture, no means of keeping up vast accumulations of wealth in particular families, no exclusive privileges, and where universal suffrage prevails, these contests should have continued, with various fortune, for full half a century. But at the last the opponents of Democracy, known at different periods of the struggle by many different names, but around whom the moneyed interests always rallied, were overborne and utterly dispersed. The Whig party, their last refuge, the last and ablest of the economic parties, died out; and the politicians who were not of the Democratic party, with a good many more, also, who had been of it, but who had deserted it, or whom it had deserted, were obliged to resort to some other and new element for an organization which might be made strong enough to conquer and to destroy the Democracy, and thus obtain control of the Federal Government. And most unfortunately for the peace of the country, and for the perpetuity, I fear, of the Union itself, they found the nucleus of such an organization ready formed to their hands — an organization, odious, indeed, in name, but founded upon two of the most powerful passions of the

human heart: sectionalism, which is only a narrow and localized patriotism, and antislavery, or love of freedom, which commonly is powerful just in proportion as it is very near coming home to one's own self, or very far off, so that either self-interest or the imagination can have full power to act. And here let me remark that it had so happened that almost, if not quite, from the beginning of the Government, the South, or slaveholding section of the Union — partly because the people of the South are chiefly an agricultural and producing, a noncommercial and nonmanufacturing people, and partly because there is no conflict, or little conflict, among them between labor and capital, inasmuch as to a considerable extent capital owns a large class of their laborers not of the white race; and it may be also because, as Mr. Burke said many years ago, the holders of slaves are "by far the most proud and jealous of their freedom," and because the aristocracy of birth, and family, and of talent, is more highly esteemed among them than the aristocracy of wealth — but no matter from what cause, the fact was that the South for fifty years was nearly always on the side of the Democratic party. It was the natural ally of the Democracy of the North, and especially of the West. Geographical position and identity of interests bound us together; and till this sectional question of slavery arose, the South and the new States of the West were always together; and the latter, in the beginning at least, always Democratic. Sir, there was not a triumph of the Democratic party in half a century which was not won by the aid of the statesmen and the people of the South. I would not be understood, however, as intimating that the South was ever slow to appropriate her full share of the spoils—the *opima spolia* of victory; or especially that the politicians of that great and noble old Commonwealth of Virginia — God bless her — were ever remarkable for the grace of self-denial in this regard — not at all. But it was natural, sir, that they who had been so many times, and for so many years, baffled and defeated by the aid of the South, should entertain no very kindly feelings towards her. And here I must not omit to say that all this time there was a powerful minority in the whole South, sometimes a majority in the whole South, and always in some of the States of the South, who belonged to the several parties which, at different times, contended with the Democracy for the possession and control of the Federal Government. Parties in those days were not

sectional, but extended into every State and every part of the Union. And, indeed, in the convention of 1787, the possibility, or at least the probability, of sectional combinations seems, as I have already said, to have been almost wholly overlooked. Washington, it is true, in his Farewell Address warned us against them, but it was rather as a distant vision than as a near reality; and a few years later, Mr. Jefferson speaks of a possibility of the people of the Mississippi Valley seceding from the East; for even then a division of the Union, North and South, or by slave lines, in the Union or out of it, seems scarcely to have been contemplated. The letter of Mr. Jefferson upon this subject, dated in 1803, is a curious one; and I commend it to the attention of gentlemen upon both sides of the House.

So long, sir, as the South maintained its equality in the Senate, and something like equality in population, strength, and material resources in the country, there was little to invite aggression, while there were the means, also, to repel it. But, in the course of time, the South lost its equality in the other wing of the Capitol, and every year the disparity between the two sections became greater and greater. Meantime, too, the antislavery sentiment, which had lain dormant at the North for many years after the inauguration of the Federal Government, began, just about the time of the emancipation in the British West Indies, to develop itself in great strength, and with wonderful rapidity. It had appeared, indeed, with much violence at the period of the admission of Missouri, and even then shook the Union to its foundation. And yet how little a sectional controversy, based upon such a question, had been foreseen by the founders of the Government may be learned from Mr. Jefferson's letter to Mr. Holmes, in 1820, where he speaks of it falling upon his ear like "a fire bell in the night." Said he:—

"I considered it, at once, as the death knell of the Union. It is hushed, indeed, for the moment; but this is a reprieve only, not a final sentence. A geographical line, coinciding with a marked principle, moral and political"—

Sir, it is this very coincidence of geographical line with the marked principle, moral and political, of slavery, which I propose to reach and to obliterate in the only way possible; by running other lines, coinciding with other and less dangerous principles,

none of them moral, and, above all, with other and conflicting interests—

«A geographical line coinciding with a marked principle, moral and political, once conceived and held up to the angry passions of men, will never be obliterated, and every new irritation will mark it deeper and deeper.» . . . «I regret that I am now to die in the belief that the useless sacrifice of themselves by the generation of 1776, to acquire self-government and happiness to their country, is to be thrown away by the unwise and unworthy passions of their sons; and that my only consolation is to be that I shall not live to weep over it.»

Fortunate man! He did not live to weep over it. To-day he sleeps quietly beneath the soil of his own Monticello, unconscious that the mighty fabric of Government which he helped to rear—a Government whose foundations were laid by the hands of so many patriots and sages, and cemented by the blood of so many martyrs and heroes—hastens now, day by day, to its fall. What recks he, or that other great man, his compeer, fortunate in life and opportune alike in death, whose dust they keep at Quincy, of those dreadful notes of preparation in every State for civil strife and fraternal carnage; or of that martial array which already has changed this once peaceful capital into a beleaguered city? Fortunate men! They died while the Constitution yet survived, while the Union survived, while the spirit of fraternal affection still lived, and the love of true American liberty lingered yet in the hearts of their descendants.

SIR HENRY VANE

(1612–1662)

SIR HENRY VANE, in many ways the noblest product of English Puritanism, was deeply influenced both by the Bible and the Classical Renaissance. The revival of classical learning among the English aristocracy had produced such many-sided characters, as Sir Walter Raleigh, while the general circulation of the Bible among the masses had resulted in the contemporaneous development of a class of intellects as much in the lineal succession from Jerusalem in the time of David as Raleigh's was from Rome in the time of Augustus. Cromwell represented the Renaissance of the Hebraic intellect of the time of the Judges. Vane stood for Christianity modified by the classical revival. He came as close to Paul at Athens as Cromwell did to Joshua at Jericho. It was inevitable that such a man should oppose Cromwell's military absolutism, and he did it as resolutely as he had opposed the divine right of the Stuarts. He was born in Kent in 1612. His father, Sir Henry Vane, was comptroller of the household of Charles I., and there was nothing in the antecedents of his family to make any member of it an opponent of royal power. In his early youth, however, the younger Vane adopted religious views which controlled his life in spite of hereditary influences and social connections. When he associated himself with Pym and the popular party, his ability was so marked that strong efforts were made to win him to the royal party. He had emigrated to Massachusetts, and, after serving a term as Governor of the Province, had returned and taken the leadership of the Independents in the Short Parliament. The King knighted him, and made him Joint Treasurer of the Navy, but throughout his life he remained faithful to the cause of popular government, not only against Charles but against Cromwell. After the Protectorate had become a military dictatorship, Cromwell was obliged to send Vane to prison. Elected to Parliament after Cromwell's death, he attacked and was chiefly instrumental in overthrowing the protectorate of Richard Cromwell. After the Restoration, Charles II. wrote Clarendon that Vane was "too dangerous a man to let live if we can honestly put him out of the way." He was accordingly arrested on a charge of high treason, and, after the formality of trial, was executed on June 14th, 1662.

AGAINST RICHARD CROMWELL

(Delivered in Parliament in 1659—The Text Complete as Given in the 'Biographia Britannica')

Mr. Speaker:—

AMONG all the people of the universe, I know none who have shown so much zeal for the liberty of their country as the English at this time have done;—they have, by the help of Divine Providence, overcome all obstacles, and have made themselves free. We have driven away the hereditary tyranny of the house of Stuart, at the expense of much blood and treasure, in hopes of enjoying hereditary liberty, after having shaken off the yoke of kingship; and there is not a man among us who could have imagined that any person would be so bold as to dare to attempt the ravishing from us that freedom which cost us so much blood and so much labor. But so it happens, I know not by what misfortune, we are fallen into the error of those who poisoned the Emperor Titus to make room for Domitian; who made away Augustus that they might have Tiberius; and changed Claudius for Nero. I am sensible these examples are foreign from my subject, since the Romans in those days were buried in lewdness and luxury, whereas the people of England are now renowned all over the world for their great virtue and discipline; and yet,—suffer an idiot, without courage, without sense,—nay, without ambition,—to have dominion in a country of liberty! One could bear a little with Oliver Cromwell, though, contrary to his oath of fidelity to the Parliament, contrary to his duty to the public, contrary to the respect he owed that venerable body from whom he received his authority, he usurped the Government. His merit was so extraordinary, that our judgments, our passions, might be blinded by it. He made his way to empire by the most illustrious actions; he had under his command an army that had made him a conqueror, and a people that had made him their general. But, as for Richard Cromwell, his son, who is he? what are his titles? We have seen that he had a sword by his side; but did he ever draw it? And what is of more importance in this case, is he fit to get obedience from a mighty Nation, who could never make a footman obey him? Yet, we must recognize this man as our King, under the

style of Protector! — a man without birth, without courage, without conduct! For my part, I declare, sir, it shall never be said that I made such a man my master!

A SPEECH FOR DUTY IN CONTEMPT OF DEATH

(From His Address to the Court, Asking an Arrest of Judgment at His Trial for High Treason, 1662)

THE duty which we owe to God, the universal king, nature and Christianity do so clearly teach and assert, that it needs no more than to be named. For this subjection and allegiance to God and his laws, by a right so indisputable, all are accountable before the judgment seat of Christ.

It is true, indeed, men may *de facto* become open rebels to God and to his laws, and prove such as forfeit his protection, and engage him to proceed against them as his professed enemies. But, with your lordship's favor, give me leave to say that that which you have made a rule for your proceedings in my case will indeed hold, and that very strongly, in this; that is to say, in the sense wherein Christ the Son of God is king *de jure*, not only in general, over the whole world, but in particular, in relation to these three kingdoms. He ought not to be kept out of his throne, nor his visible government, that consists in the authority of his word and laws, suppressed and trampled under foot, under any pretense whatsoever.

And in asserting and adhering unto the right of this highest sovereign as stated in the covenant before mentioned, the lords and commons jointly, before the year 1648, and the commons alone afterwards, to the very times charged in the indictment, did manage the war and late differences within these kingdoms. And whatever defections did happen by apostates, hypocrites, and time-serving worldlings, there was a party amongst them that did continue firm, sincere, and chaste unto the last, and loved it better than their very lives; of which number I am not ashamed to profess myself to be: not so much admiring the form and words of the covenant, as the righteous and holy ends therein expressed, and the true sense and meaning thereof, which I have reason to know.

Nor will I deny, but that, as to the manner of the prosecution of the covenant to other ends than itself warrants, and with

a rigid oppressive spirit, to bring all dissenting minds and tender consciences under one uniformity of church discipline and government, it was utterly against my judgment. For I always esteemed it more agreeable to the word of God, that the ends and work declared in the covenant should be promoted in a spirit of love and forbearance to differing judgments and consciences, that thereby we might be approving ourselves, "in doing that to others which we desire they would to us"; and so, though upon different principles, be found joint and faithful advancers of the reformation contained in the covenant, both public and personal.

This happy union and conjunction of all interests in the respective duties of all relations, agreed and consented to by the common suffrage of the three nations, as well in their public parliamentary capacity, as private stations, appeared to me a rule and measure approved of, and commanded by Parliament, for my action and deportment, though it met with great opposition, in a tedious, sad, and long war; and this under the name and pretext of royal authority. Yet, as this case appeared to me in my conscience, under all its circumstances of times, of persons, and of revolutions inevitably happening by the hand of God and the course of his wise providences, I held it safest and best to keep my station in Parliament to the last, under the guidance and protection of their authority, and in pursuance of the ends before declared in my just defense.

This general and public case of the kingdoms is so well known by the declarations and actions that have passed on both sides, that I need but name it; since this matter was not done in a corner, but frequently contended for in the high places of the field, and written even with characters of blood. And out of the bowels of these public differences and disputes doth my particular case arise, for which I am called into question. But admitting it come to my lot to stand single, in the witness I am to give to this glorious cause, and to be left alone (as in a sort I am), yet being upheld with the authority before asserted, and keeping myself in union and conjunction therewith, I am not afraid to bear my witness to it in this great presence, nor to seal it with my blood, if called thereunto. And I am so far satisfied in my conscience and understanding that it neither is nor can be treason, either against the law of nature, or the law of the land, either *malum per se*, or *malum prohibitum;* that on the contrary. it is the duty I owed to God the universal king, and

to his Majesty that now is, and to the Church and people of God in these nations, and to the innocent blood of all that have been slain in this quarrel. Nothing, it seems, will now serve, unless by the condemnation passed upon my person, they be rendered to posterity murderers and rebels, and that upon record in a court of justice in Westminster Hall. And this would inevitably have followed if I had voluntarily given up this cause, without asserting their and my innocency; by which I should have pulled that blood upon my own head, which now I am sure lies at the door of others, and in particular of those that knowingly and precipitately shall imbrue their hands in my innocent blood, under whatsoever form or pretext of justice.

My case is evidently new and unusual, that which never happened before; wherein there is not only much of God and of his glory, but all that is dear and of true value to all the good people in these three nations. And, as I have said, it cannot be treason against the law of nature since the duties of the subjects in relation to their sovereigns and superiors, from the highest to the lowest, are owned and conscientiously practiced and yielded by those that are the assertors of this cause.

Nor can it be treason within the statute of Edward III., since, besides, what hath been said of no king in possession, and of being under powers regnant, and kings *de facto*, as also of the fact in its own nature, and the evidence as to overt acts pretended, it is very plain it cannot possibly fall within the purview of that statute. For this case, thus circumstantiated, as before declared, is no act of any private person, of his own head, as that statute intends; nor in relation to the king there meant, that is presumed to be in the exercise of his royal authority, in conjunction with the law and the two houses of Parliament, if they be sitting, as the fundamental constitutions of the Government do require.

My lords, if I have been free and plain with you in this matter, I beg your pardon; for it concerns me to be so, and something more than ordinarily urgent, where both my estate and life are in such eminent peril; nay, more than my life, the concerns of thousands of lives are in it, not only of those that are in their graves already, but of all posterity in time to come. Had nothing been in it but the care to preserve my own life, I needed not have stayed in England, but might have taken my opportunity to withdraw myself into foreign parts, to provide for my

own safety. Nor needed I to have been put upon pleading, as now I am, for an arrest of judgment; but might have watched upon advantages that were visible enough to me, in the managing of my trial, if I had consulted only the preservation of my life or estate.

No, my lords, I have otherwise learned Christ, than to fear them that can but kill the body, and have no more that they can do. I have also taken notice, in the little reading that I have had of history, how glorious the very heathen have rendered their names to posterity in the contempt they have showed of death,—when the laying down of their lives has appeared to be their duty,—from the love which they have owed to their country.

Two remarkable examples of this give me leave to mention to you upon this occasion. The one is of Socrates, the divine philosopher, who was brought into question before a judgment seat, as now I am, for maintaining that there was but one only true God, against the multiplicity of the superstitious heathen gods; and he was so little in love with his own life upon this account, wherein he knew the right was on his side, that he could not be persuaded by his friends to make any defense, but would choose rather to put it upon the conscience and determination of his judges, to decide that wherein he knew not how to make any choice of his own as to what would be best for him, whether to live or to die; he ingenuously professing that for aught he knew it might be much to his prejudice and loss to endeavor longer continuance in this bodily life.

The other example is that of a chief governor, Codrus, that, to my best remembrance, had the command of a city in Greece, which was besieged by a potent enemy, and brought into unimaginable straits. Hereupon the said governor made his address to the Oracle to know the event of that danger. The answer was: "That the city should be safely preserved if the chief governor were slain by the enemy." He understanding this, immediately disguised himself and went into the enemy's camp, amongst whom he did so comport himself that they unwittingly put him to death; by which means, immediately, safety and deliverance arose to the city as the Oracle had declared. So little was his life in esteem with him when the good and safety of his country required the laying down of it.

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MADAME ROLAND ON THE SCAFFOLD.

After the Painting by Royer.

THOUGH in thy hallowed name, O Liberty,
Were marshaled once the rebel hosts of hell,
Still shall the tongues of freemen learn to tell
Thy praise from hearts that burn with love of thee!
Above earth's lordliest names, thy name shall be!
Sister and nurse of peace, does he not well
Who strikes a blow for thee or dares to tell
The truth of heaven that makes men brave and free?

Though they who love thee die as Roland died,
By tyrant, mob, or law, condemned to shame,
Thou art most fair, O Freedom, and thy name
Shall wax in greatness while the stars abide
And in the skies God's glorious will proclaim
That truth shall make men free whate'er betide!

W. V. B.

PIERRE VICTURNIEN VERGNIAUD

(1753–1793)

IDEALIST, poet, philosopher, and philanthropist, capable of all the virtues, Vergniaud, the greatest of the French Girondists, was forced by circumstances to become a revolutionary leader at a time when, on one side and the other, he was opposed by a ruthlessness of which he was incapable, manifesting itself through crimes which to him were unimaginable in advance of their commission. When the absolutism of royalty and that of the mob exerted each against the other all the enormous forces of the malevolence of centuries of injustice, he attempted to establish liberty and, through its uplifting power, to put France and the world on a higher plane of civilization. The attempt ended for him with the scaffold. But it did not end so for France, and he may rightly be classed as chief among the founders of the existing Girondist Republic.

Born at Limoges, May 31th, 1753, from a family in good circumstances, Vergniaud while still a youth wrote a poem which attracted the attention of Turgot who became his patron and promoted his education. After beginning the practice of law he was drawn into politics at the opening of the Revolution. Entering the Legislative Assembly in October 1791, he showed such power as an orator that leadership was thrust on him in spite of himself. He was at first in favor of constitutional monarchy, but the plots of the court with foreign enemies of the new order in France made him a republican. The Girondists followed him with courage and confidence, while the Jacobins eagerly took advantage of his attacks on their enemies to excuse meditated crimes which, when they became overt, he viewed with the deepest abhorrence. He was not willing, however, to trust wholly to moral and intellectual forces, and, although he voted for the death of the King with reluctance, he had done much to make it inevitable. From that vote, his own downfall dates, for the King's execution forced conditions under which the utmost Radicalism of the Girondists was attacked as «milk-and-water moderation.» Opposing the atrocities of the Terrorists with a self-devoting courage which expected the inevitable end, Vergniaud and his friends were prepared for it when it came in the autumn of 1793. On the

wall of the Carmelite convent where they were imprisoned, he wrote in blood *Potius mori quam fœdari*, and on October 31st, 1793, he went to the guillotine with his friends, all singing the Marseillaise and keeping up the chant until the last man was strapped under the ax.

«TO THE CAMP!»

(Delivered before the Committee of Public Safety, September 2d, 1792)

THE details given to you by M. Constant are no doubt quite reassuring; it is impossible, however, to help some uneasiness, after coming from the camp below Paris. The works advance very slowly. There are many workmen, but few of them work: a great number are resting themselves. What is especially painful is to see that the shovels are only handled by salaried hands, and not by hands which the public interest directs. Whence comes the sort of torpor in which the citizens who have remained in Paris appear to be buried? Let us no longer conceal it: the time to tell the truth has come at last! The proscriptions of the past, the rumor of future proscriptions, and our internal discords have spread consternation and dismay. Upright men hide themselves when the conditions have been reached under which crime may be committed with impunity. There are men, on the contrary, who only show themselves during public calamities, like some noxious insects which the earth produces only during storms. These men constantly spread suspicions, distrust, jealousies, hates, revenges. They thirst for blood. In their seditious insinuations they accuse of «aristocracy» virtue itself, in order to acquire the right to trample it under foot. They make crime a part of their democracy that they may democratize crime, gorge themselves with its fruits without having to fear the sword of justice. Their whole effort now is to so dishonor the most sacred cause, that they may rouse to action against it the friends of the nation and of all humanity.

Oh! citizens of Paris I ask it of you with the most profound emotion, will you never unmask these perverse men, who to obtain your confidence have nothing to offer but the baseness of their means and the audacity of their pretensions? Citizens, when the enemy is advancing, and when a man, instead of asking you

to take up the sword to repulse him, wishes you to murder in cold blood women or unarmed citizens, that man is an enemy of your glory and of your welfare! He deceives you that he may ruin you. When on the contrary a man speaks to you of the Prussians only to indicate you must strike a mortal blow; when he proposes victory to you only by means worthy of your courage, he then is the friend of your glory, the friend of your happiness. He would save you! Citizens, forswear, therefore, your intestine dissension; let your profound indignation against crime encourage upright men to come to the front. Have the proscriptions stopped, and you shall see at once a mass of defenders of liberty rally themselves about you. Go, all of you together to the camp! It is there that you will find your salvation!

I hear it said every day: "We may suffer a defeat. What then will the Prussians do? Will they come to Paris?" No, not if Paris is in a state of respectable defense; if you prepare outposts from whence you could oppose a strong resistance; for then the enemy would fear to be pursued and surrounded by the remnants of the armies that he may have overcome, and be crushed by them as Samson was under the ruins of the temple he tore down. But, if panic or false security benumb our courage and our strong arms, if we surrender without defending them the outposts from which the city may be bombarded, it were senseless not to advance towards a city which by inaction had appeared herself to invite their coming,—which did not know how to take possession of positions from which he could have been beaten. To the camp, therefore, citizens, to the camp! What? while your brothers, your fellow-citizens, by a heroic devotion, abandon what nature must make them cherish the most, their wives, their children,—will you remain plunged in lukewarm idleness? Have you no other way of proving your zeal than by asking incessantly, as did the Athenians: "What is there new to-day?" Ah! let us detest this degrading nobility! To the camp, citizens, to the camp! Whilst our brothers, for our defense, may be shedding their blood on the plains of Champagne, let us not be afraid to let our sweat-drops fall upon the plains of Saint Denis, for the protection of their retreat. To the camp, citizens, to the camp! Let us forget everything but our country! To the camp, to the camp!

REPLY TO ROBESPIERRE

(Peroration of the Speech Delivered in the Convention, April 10th, 1793)

ROBESPIERRE accuses us of having suddenly become "Moderates,"—monks of the order of Saint Bernard. (*Feuillants.*)

Moderates,—we? I was not such, on the tenth of August, Robespierre, when thou didst hide in thy cellar. Moderates! No, I am not such a Moderate that I would extinguish the national energy. I know that liberty is ever as active as a blazing flame,—that it is irreconcilable with the inertia that is fit only for slaves! Had we tried but to feed that sacred fire which burns in my heart as ardently as in that of the men who talk incessantly about "the impetuosity" of their character, such great dissensions would never have arisen in this Assembly. I know that in revolutionary times it was as great a folly to pretend the ability to calm on the spur of the moment the effervescence of the people as it would be to command the waves of the ocean when they are beaten by the wind. Thus it behooves the lawmaker to prevent as much as he can the storm's disaster by wise counsel. But if under the pretext of revolution it become necessary, in order to be a patriot, to become the declared protector of murder and of robbery,—then I am a "Moderate!"

Since the abolition of the monarchy, I have heard much talk of revolution. I said to myself: There are but two more revolutions possible: that of property or the Agrarian Law, and that which would carry us back to despotism. I have made a firm resolution to resist both the one and the other and all the indirect means that might lead us to them. If that can be construed as being a "Moderate," then we are all such; for we all have voted for the death penalty against any citizen who would propose either one of them.

I have also heard much said about insurrection,—of attempts to cause risings of the people,—and I admit I have groaned under it. Either the insurrection has a determined object, or it has not; in the latter case, it is a convulsion for the body politic which, since it cannot do it good, must necessarily do it a great deal of harm. The wish to force insurrection can find lodgment nowhere but in the heart of a bad citizen. If the insurrection has a determined object, what can it be? To transfer the exer-

cise of sovereignty to the Republic. The exercise of sovereignty is confided to the national representatives. Therefore, those who talk of insurrection are trying to destroy national representation; therefore they are trying to deliver the exercise of sovereignty to a small number of men, or to transfer it upon the head of a single citizen; therefore they are endeavoring to found an aristocratic government, or to re-establish royalty. In either case, they are conspiring against the Republic and liberty, and if it become necessary either to approve them in order to be a patriot, or be a "Moderate" in battling against them, then I am a Moderate!

When the statue of liberty is on the throne, insurrection can be called into being only by the friends of royalty. By continually shouting to the people that they must rise; by continuing to speak to them, not the language of the laws, but that of the passions, arms have been furnished to the aristocracy. Taking the living and the language of sansculottism, it has cried out to the Finistère department: "You are unhappy; the assignats are at a discount; you ought to rise *en masse.*" In this way the exaggerations have injured the Republic. We are "Moderates!" But for whose profit have we shown this great moderation? For the profit of the *emigrés?* We have adopted against them all the measures of rigor that were imposed by justice and national interest. For the profit of inside conspirators? We have never ceased to call upon their heads the sword of the law. But I have demurred against the law that threatened to proscribe the innocent as well as the guilty. There was endless talk of terrible measures, of revolutionary measures. I also was in favor of them,—these terrible measures, but only against the enemies of the country. I did not want them to compromise the safety of good citizens, for the reason that some unprincipled wretches were interested in their undoing. I wanted punishments but not proscriptions. Some men have appeared as if their patriotism consisted in tormenting others,—in causing tears to flow! I would have wished that there should be none but happy people! The convention is the centre around which all citizens should rally! It may be that their gaze fixed upon it is not always free from fear and anxiety. I would have wished that it should be the centre of all their affections and of all their hopes. Efforts were made to accomplish the revolution by terror. I should have preferred to bring it about by love. In short, I have not thought, that like the priests and the fierce ministers of

the Inquisition, who spoke of their God of Mercy only when they were surrounded by autos-de-fe and stakes, that we should speak of liberty surrounded by daggers and executioners!

You say we are «Moderates!» Ah! let thanks be offered us for this moderation of which we are accused as if it were a crime! If, when in this tribune they came to wave the brands of discord and to outrage with the most insolent audacity the majority of the representatives of the people; if, when they shouted with as much fury as folly: «No more truce! No more peace between us!» we had given way to the promptings of a just indignation; if we had accepted the counter-revolutionary challenge which was tendered to us — I declare to my accusers — (and no matter what suspicions they create against us; no matter what the calumnies with which they try to tarnish us, our names still remain more esteemed than theirs), that we would have seen coming in haste from all the provinces to combat the men of the second of September, men equally formidable to anarchy and to tyrants! And our accusers and we ourselves would be already consumed by the fire of civil war. Our moderation has saved the country from this terrible scourge, and by our silence we have deserved well of the Republic!

I have not passed by, without reply, any of Robespierre's calumnies, or of his ramblings. I come now to the petition denounced by Pétion; but, as this petition is connected with a general scheme of mischief, allow me to treat of the facts from a higher point of view.

On the tenth of March, a conspiracy broke out against the National Convention. I denounced it to you then. I named some of the leaders. I read to you the decrees taken in the name of the two sections, by some intriguers who had slipped into their midst. A pretense was made of throwing doubts on the facts; the existence of the decrees was considered as uncertain. Nevertheless the facts were attested even by the municipality of Paris. The existence of the decrees was confirmed by the sections who came to disavow them and to inform against the authors.

You ordered, by a decree, that the guilty parties should be prosecuted before the Revolutionary Tribunal. The crime is acknowledged. What heads have fallen? None. What accomplice has even been arrested? None. You yourselves have contributed to render your decree illusory. You have ordered Fournier

to appear at the bar of your court. Fournier admitted that he was present at the first gathering that took place at the Jacobins; that from there he had gone to the Cordeliers, the place of the general meeting; that, at that meeting, there was a question of proceeding to ring the alarm-bell, to close the barriers, and to slaughter a number of the members of the convention. But because he stated that, in the scenes in which he had participated, he had not been animated by evil intentions; and,—as if to butcher a part of the convention had not been reputed as an evil,—you set him at liberty by ordering that he should be heard later on as a witness, if it was thought best, before the Revolutionary Tribunal. It is as if in Rome the Senate had decreed that Lentulus might become a witness in the conspiracy of Catiline!

This inconceivable weakness rendered powerless the sword of the law and taught your enemies that you were not to be dreaded by them. At once a new plot was formed which manifested itself by the constitution of this central committee which was to correspond with all the provinces. This plot was counteracted by the patriotism of the section *du Mail*, who denounced it to you; you ordered before your bar the members of this central committee; did they obey your decree? No. Who then are you? Have you ceased to be the representatives of the people? Where are the new men whom they have endowed with their almighty power? So they insult your decree; so you are shamefully bandied about from one plot to another. Pétion has let you into the secret of still another one. In the petition of the *Halle-au-Blé*, the dissolution of the National Convention is being arranged for, by accusing the majority of corruption; opprobrium is being poured upon them from full cups; the formal design is announced of changing the form of the government, inasmuch as they have made manifest that of concentrating the exercise of sovereign authority in the small number of men therein represented as the only ones worthy of public confidence.

It is not a petition that is being submitted to your wisdom. These are supreme orders that they dare dictate to you. You are notified that it is for the last time that the truth is being told you; you are notified that you have but to choose between your expulsion, or bow to the law that is imposed on you. And on these insolent threats, on these burning insults, the order of the day or a simple disapproval is quietly proposed to you! And

now then! how do you expect good citizens to stand by you, if you do not know how to sustain yourselves? Citizens! were you but simple individuals, I could say to you: "Are you cowards? Well, then; abandon yourselves to the chances of events; wait in your stupidity until your throats are cut or you are driven out." But there is here no question of your personal safety; you are the representatives of the people; the safety of the Republic is at stake; you are the depositaries of her liberty and of her glory. If you are dissolved, anarchy succeeds you, and despotism succeeds to anarchy. Any man conspiring against you is an ally of Austria. You are convinced of it, as you have decreed that he shall be punished by death. Do you wish to be consistent? Cause your decrees to be carried out, or revoke them, or order the barriers of France to be opened to the Austrians and decree that you will be the slaves of the first robber who may wish to put his chains upon you.

DANIEL W. VOORHEES

(1827–1897)

DANIEL WOLSEY VOORHEES, one of the most noted men of the Central West during the Civil War and Reconstruction period, was an orator of great if irregular power. With such a training as that of Chatham and Brougham, he might have attained the highest rank. Having an education in history and general literature which the circumstances of his early years rendered defective, he had nevertheless a native power of intellect which for twenty years made him one of the great forces of national politics. Born in Butler County, Ohio, September 26th, 1827, he began life as a lawyer at Covington, Indiana, in 1851. Elected to Congress in 1861, as a Democrat, he began at once those vehement but skillful attacks on Republican policies which won him his great reputation as a "Copperhead" and gave him enduring popularity with his Democratic constituents in Indiana. Elected to the United States Senate in 1877, he served continuously until his death, April 10th, 1897, doing a notable work in diverting the country from the sectional issues growing out of the Civil War. As a politician Voorhees ranks with Lincoln himself. The skill with which the Democratic minority at the North held its ground and, in spite of continual blunders in detail, finally made the advances of 1876, 1884, and 1892, has seldom been surpassed in the history of politics.

SPEECH IN THE TILDEN CONVENTION

(Delivered in the Democratic National Convention in St. Louis, June 27th, 1876)

My Fellow-Citizens of This Convention:—

I AM overwhelmed with gratitude to so many of my fellow-citizens of distinguished character from every part of the United States, who have done me the singular honor of calling for my presence on this occasion and under these circumstances. I cannot attribute it to anything in my humble career; I know not what to attribute it to, and I may say that at least for once in my life I am at a loss as to the manner in which I

shall respond to such an overwhelming compliment as has been paid to me. I feel abashed in the presence of this mighty congregation of people who expect to hear my humble words. I am here with you, fellow-Democrats of the United States, for the exalted and patriotic purpose of endeavoring to redeem and wrench our country from the hands of despoilers and public plunderers. I am here with you for the purpose of trying to better unite the scattered, shattered, broken bands of our Union by gathering together in one mighty brotherhood, looking in each other's faces, renewing ancient friendship, steadying the column, turning its head towards victory and glory in the future as we have done in the past.

We are entering upon a new century. Portions of the last century were full of glory. The closing years of our last century, however, have had tears and blood commingled, sorrow and gloom. The cypress of mourning has been in thousands of households, but with the coming of this new century there comes a new dispensation, the dawn of a revelation of glory such as shall eclipse the past years of the century that has gone by. Standing, as I do, one of the humble representatives of the great valley of the Mississippi, we stand in a central point to invoke union, to invoke harmony, to invoke a compromise of conflicting opinions in the Democratic ranks. There is nothing, my friends, in the differences and divergences of opinion in the Democratic party that cannot be honorably, easily, smoothly, and harmoniously adjusted, so that when the lines of battle are formed, there shall be no heartburnings, no divisions, no collisions of thought. There is no reason why we should not thus adjust our differences, if differences we have; and standing, as I do, one of the representatives of the great Mississippi Valley, we appeal to the people of the far East. We say to them: "What is for your prosperity is likewise for ours." You all rest upon the prosperity of the agricultural interests of the mighty Mississippi Valley. The foundation of commercial glory and greatness is the farmer's plow and the sickle and the rich harvest. We freight your ships, we make your cities prosper. You, in turn, benefit us in a thousand ways. We interlace and interchange and bind our interests together, when we properly consider it. We appeal to you now. Give us a living chance in this convention and in this contest, and we will make a glorious return in October for your final charge upon the enemy.

I stand in your presence neither arrogant nor suppliant. I stand for absolute justice, willing to concede everything that is just to everybody else, only asking the same mete to ourselves. Let us not be extreme to each other; let us not seek to be distasteful. Man's talent to be disagreeable to his fellow-man is quite sufficient without cultivating it at all. We should cultivate amiability and friendship rather. I make these remarks to our brethren of the East. We have fought a thousand battles with you for the Democracy, and never one against you. Our scores of political conflict are upon our breasts and none upon our backs.

To our old-time brethren of the South a word or two also! I am one of the men surely that need no apology to look my Southern brother in the eye and expect him to believe that I speak to him with no forked tongue. No political battle was ever so hot, the clouds of obloquy and storm and danger never ran so low or black over the heads of the democracy with whom I have worked and toiled for years, as to deter us from standing by all the constitutional rights and guarantees of our oppressed Southern brothers. I say to my Southern brethren who know me, and whom I know, do not in this hour of national counsel, this hour of national preparation for the great conflict against the Radical foe arrayed against you and led, as was well said by the distinguished gentleman from New York, by the pirate's flag of the bloody shirt,—do not in this hour leave us in the Northwest, wounded, helpless, to be scalped and murdered upon the field of battle. We have no personal animosities to gratify, we have no personal aims to subserve. If there is one man who can get more votes than another, were my own brother a candidate, I would be for that other man. The times are too serious, the issues too mighty, for a personal thought to intervene.

Three times in the last twelve years we in the Northwest have charged the enemy's lines under the head of the gallant democracy of New York. If it has to be so again we will dress in parade, and even if it be a forlorn hope, we will fight it like men. I say there are no heartburnings, there are no animosities to gratify. Men of this convention, it was no purpose of mine to speak here. I feel like apologizing for it, but your voice sent me here. I did not desire to speak, but I belong to that class of men who cannot speak and say nothing. I must say something. And what I say is the utterance of a sincere heart. In the

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counsel of old, tried, cherished, and beloved friends, let us purify our hearts for this great work that is before us. Let us look narrowly to our motives. Let us look narrowly to our duties, and when the sun goes down upon the finished work of this convention, I pray Almighty God that it may be as ordered, that in November your country will stand redeemed, disinthralled, and re-enfranchised in all the rights of a free people, from the tyrannical bond that has crushed and oppressed us so long. That is my prayer.

AN OPPOSITION ARGUMENT IN 1862

(From a Speech in the House of Representatives, May 21st, 1862)

SIR, during the past year we have been engaged in a most stupendous war. It assumed, from the first, proportions of the most horrible magnitude. Any eye could see at the opening stages of this conflict that the struggle of this Government to maintain its just authority within its lawful jurisdiction was to be one of the most terrible and, perhaps, protracted that ever shook the world. Courage, chivalry, patriotism, devotion to the Union and the laws, all came forward and still stand ready in an inexhaustible quantity. The country has glowed from end to end and throughout all its vast extent with a fervid love for the Government as our fathers made it. But, sordid and practical as it may seem to some, one of the main sinews of war is money, plain money. Without it armies do not move and navies do not float, and the purse of the nation is to be found in the pockets of the people. Sir, in view of these facts, what has been the course of those in authority since this war commenced in regard to the great question of national economy? Have our resources been carefully husbanded? Have our public moneys been strictly guarded from the hand of the plunderer? Have our public officers been held to a rigid accountability in their use of the hard-earned revenues of the country? Has financial integrity marked the conduct of those in whom the people placed their trust when the present administration came into power? Has common honesty been observed by those who won their way to popular confidence by their fierce denunciations of the alleged corruptions of former administrations? I speak not as a partisan, nor in the spirit of party. I trust I can rise above all such

considerations; but these are questions in which the people of all parties have a deep and overwhelming interest, and they are questions, too, which all men in every part of the country who desire an honest administration of our public affairs are now asking with serious and startling emphasis. The answer which must come, and of which impartial history will make an everlasting record, is one which bows the head and burns the cheek of every lover of his country's good name with humiliation and with shame.

. . . . . .

Sir, as early as last July, when this Congress first met in extraordinary session, the taint of corruption was perceived in the atmosphere of the capital, and a committee, since so celebrated, was raised to investigate and to expose. The result of a portion of the labors of that committee is before the country in the shape of a volume of over eleven hundred pages. The majority of that committee are friends to the party now in power, and the evidence which they have furnished is entitled to full credit. Would that a volume of it could be placed in the hands of every taxpaying voter of the country! Its dark labyrinths of proven guilt ought to be explored by every intelligent mind. By the solemn testimony of this committee, no branch of business connected with the military and naval affairs of this Government seems to have escaped the hungry grasp of unlawful avarice and peculation. From the smallest article of food which enters into the soldier's ration to the purchase of cattle for an entire army; from the blanket on which the tired soldier sleeps at night to the vast fortifications for the defense of a city; from the pistol at the soldier's belt to the cannon at whose breech he stands in the day of battle; from the meanest transport sloop to the mightiest man-of-war afloat, everywhere and on everything we find the impress of favoritism and of fraud. The report of this committee is before me, and I submit a few extracts in proof of my statement. Speaking of contracts for cattle made by the War Department during its management by Mr. Cameron, the committee say:—

"We have here not only evidence of gross mismanagement, a total disregard of the interests of the Government, and a total recklessness in the expenditure of the funds of the Government, but there is every reason to believe that there was collusion upon the part of the employees of the Government to assist in robbing the Treasury, for, when a conscientious officer refused to pass cattle not in accordance

with the contract, he was in effect superseded by one who had no conscientious scruples in the matter, and cattle that were rejected by his predecessor were at once accepted.

«With such a state of things existing, if officers of the Government who should be imbued with patriotism and integrity enough to have a care of the means of the Treasury are ready to assist speculating contractors to extort upon and defraud the Government, where is this system of peculation to end, and how soon may not the finances of the Government be reduced to a woeful bankruptcy?» . . .

On the subject of buying arms, as conducted by the late Secretary of War, the committee state a loss of over ninety thousand dollars to the Government in one transaction, and say:—

«No Government that ever has existed can sustain itself with such improvidence in the management of its affairs.»

In regard to the purchase of horses and wagons for the public service, the committee sum up as follows:—

«It appears from all the evidence which is detailed in the record of evidence accompanying this report, that the parties to these discreditable transactions had a perfect understanding with each other, and engaged in a system of corrupt pecuniary gains by means of requisitions and receipts signed in blank, and false invoices, at a time when the over-taxed finances of the Government and the confidence of a generous and patriotic people demanded the most rigid integrity.»

Sir, in view of this dark record of atrocious guilt, it is no wonder that the chairman of that committee [Mr. Van Wyck], in his speech of February 7th, on this floor, should exclaim:—

«The mania for stealing seems to have run through all the relations of Government,—almost from the general to the drummer boy, from those nearest the throne of power to the merest tidewaiter. Nearly every man who deals with the Government seems to feel or desire that it would not long survive, and each had a common right to plunder while it lived.»

Again, the chairman says:—

«While it is no justification, the example has been set in the very departments of the Government. As a general thing none but favorites gain access there, and none other can obtain contracts which bear enormous profits. . . . The department which has allowed

conspiracies after bidding had been closed to defraud the Government of the lowest bid, and by allowing the guilty to reap the fruits of their crime, has itself become *particeps criminis.*"

And well might the able and fearless member of the committee from Massachusetts [Mr. Dawes], in view of these revelations, also assert, as he did before the House and the country, that "startling facts have come to the notice of the committee, and to the notice of the whole country, touching the mode and manner of the expenditure of the public money"; that, "in the first year of a Republican administration, which came into power upon professions of reform and retrenchment, there is indubitable evidence abroad in the land that somebody has plundered the public Treasury well nigh in that single year as much as the entire current yearly expenses of the Government during the administration which the people hurled from power because of its corruption." And further, that those heavy measures of taxation which have been brought forward by the Committee of Ways and Means would "fall like a dead pall upon the public, unless before them goes this assurance, that these vast and extreme measures instituted to resuscitate and revive and replenish the Treasury are not merely for means to fill other and longer, as well as the already-gorged pockets of public plunderers. . . .

The exhausted soldier is put to death for yielding to irresistible slumber at his post, the victim of pinching poverty is sent to the penitentiary for stealing provision for his wife and children; but this exalted criminal finds approval for his conduct, is surrounded by flatterers, is restored to the field, and sits in the saddle of command and of power. Sir, Cicero brought the haughty Verres to trial and to condemnation for his fraudulent practices in the Sicilian province; and Burke enriched the English language by his denunciations of the extortionate measures imposed by Warren Hastings on the people of the East Indies; but in the midst of fraud and robbery in the very highest departments of this Government, we have as yet seen no official delinquent brought to answer the law for the plunder of the public Treasury, but rather we have seen the perpetrators of these wrongs receiving still greater marks of confidence and of favor, and mounting to still loftier heights of honor. . . . We seek to take refuge, sir, from the enormous figures of our national indebtedness whenever they are brought to our attention,

in the fact that we can defer its payment and bequeath it as an inheritance to coming generations. Admitting that this unworthy thing may to some extent be done, yet let us see, for a few moments, what amount of money this Government will be compelled annually to raise in order to prevent open and confessed bankruptcy before the world. I will content myself with a specific statement of the various items of current yearly expense which must be regularly met. Against the substantial correctness of this statement, I challenge successful contradiction.

The interest on the public debt, at a very low estimate, is one hundred million dollars.

The ordinary expenses of the Government, including appropriations for the increased magnitude of the army and navy after the war is over, will reach one hundred and fifty million dollars at another low estimate. I am especially warranted in fixing this amount in view of the declaration on this floor, by the chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs [Mr. Blair, of Missouri], that hereafter our peace establishment will consist of a standing army of a hundred thousand men.

The pension list comes next. This Government must not fail to meet the requirements of civilization and of humanity. It must and will provide for the support of its maimed and wounded, and for the maintenance of the widows and orphans of those who have fallen on the field of battle, or been stricken down by disease while in the public service. It is, of course, difficult to calculate the amount which will be required to meet this item of expense; but no well-informed person will pretend that it will be less than the sum of one hundred million dollars.

To the above must be added at least fifty million dollars more as a margin for claims against the Government, contingent expenses, and unforeseen events during this convulsive and unsettled period of the world's history.

We have thus an inevitable annual expenditure, without making any provision whatever for the payment of the public debt itself, of the sum of four hundred million dollars. This amount will make its demands on the resources of the people in each succeeding year, as regularly as the seasons come and go, and in a voice as imperative and inexorable as the cry of fate. You need not avert your frightened gaze from the sore contemplation of this terrible fact. It is the lion in the pathway of the future, but it must be met. Death itself is not more certain to

all than is this monstrous annual burden on the shoulders of the American people. And now, sir, bearing this fearful fact in mind, from which there is now no escape, the question necessarily arises with immense, overwhelming force, as to what system of finance shall be adopted to raise annually this monstrous sum of money. It is the vital question of the day, and paramount to all others save civil liberty and republican government.

I live, Mr. Speaker, in a land of corn, in a land where the fruits of the earth constitute the reward of labor. I live in a great valley, beside whose agricultural wealth the famed valleys of the Euphrates and the Nile and the richest fields of Europe sink into utter insignificance, and whose more than Egyptian granaries invite the markets of the civilized world. The plow, the harrow, the reaper, and the threshing machine are our implements of industry, and compose the coat of arms of our nobility. The soil is our fruitful mother, and we are her children. We fill our cribs with grain, and stock our pastures with cattle, and with these we seek to purchase those other necessary articles of life which are not made in our midst. These are our possessions which we offer in barter and exchange with the trading merchants of the world who give us the best returns. This we conceive to be our right and that the Government in which we live should protect us in its enjoyment.

But turn to the contemplation of another region of this country. You there behold the land of manufacturing machinery, and hear the sound of the loom and the spindle. The people of the North and East make fabrics of cloth, and manufacture all those articles which man needs and which do not grow. These constitute their wealth and their stock of merchandise for trade. The markets of the world are open to them, and of right ought to be. The West is an immense consumer of those articles which they have to sell. We are willing to buy of them of our own choice if we can buy there as cheap as we can elsewhere. But I here aver that the unequal and unjust system of finance now adopted by the party in power gives to the vast manufacturing interest of this country the arbitrary power to fix its own exorbitant prices, and the laboring agriculturist is compelled to pay them. To this no people can submit. Against this outrage the people of the West will cry out. You have fastened upon this country the most odious system of tariff on imported goods that ever paralyzed the energies of a nation or oppressed its

agricultural citizens. You say by that tariff that the manufacturing institutions of this country shall not be brought in competition with those of other parts of the world.

Sir, no sectional boundaries to my love of country prompts these remarks. I call God to witness with what devotion I love every sod and rock and river, mountain, prairie, and forest of my native land. For its happiness and glory it would be sweet and honorable to die. I reckon no section of it above another. It is all alike to me, all dear and hallowed by the principles of constitutional liberty. But I speak in the name of justice, which is everywhere present, in the name of fraternal and American equality; and I ask you, I implore you, to look at the condition of the Western people. Their interests have been abandoned on this floor by more than half their Representatives, and they stand to-day bearing the hard brunt of the pitiless storm which has burst from the angry sky. They are shut out from all fair markets for their produce. Their natural channels of trade to the South are closed by the impious hand of war, and their avenues to the markets of the North are obstructed by the avarice of railroads. It costs sixty cents to freight a bushel of corn from the Wabash River to New York, and leaves from seven to fourteen cents to the farmer who has caused it to grow and gathered it in, as the reward of his toil. For everything else he receives the same beggarly return. And yet who has lifted up his voice here in behalf of that great, that honest, and oppressed people? Where is their representative in the Committee of Ways and Means, that great despotic committee which matures measures of tariff, of taxation, and of finance, and whose decrees on this floor are as unalterable as the laws of the Medes and Persians? On that committee, which speaks the voice of fate for the weal or woe of the taxpayers of all the land, the great imperial domain of the West, from the feet of the Alleghany Mountains to the Pacific Ocean, has had no member during this important session.

Blow after blow has fallen on her naked head and now she stands exposed to the payment of four-fifths of all the burdens which this Government has to bear. I speak advisedly. She has been trampled under foot. Her rights have been disregarded. She has been plundered for the benefit of others. And from here I call upon her to vindicate herself, to assert her equality, to resist oppression, to scorn the tribute which she is called upon

to pay to a branch of industry which God and nature never intended she should support, to demand from her Government the same protection which others obtain, and to reckon with her oppressors at the ballot box. As for me, I shall join in no such system of injustice, inequality, and wanton extortion against the people whose interests are confided to my care in this House. I shall resist it in all constitutional methods, and denounce it everywhere; and in doing so I shall perform what I conceive to be one of the highest duties of honest, fearless patriotism. . . .

I now take leave of this subject. I have dwelt upon it today, not to discourage or depress the energies of the people, but to awaken my countrymen to a sense of their perilous situation, in order that they may gird up their loins and meet it in a manner becoming the intelligent, free citizens of America. The present, it is true, is dark, and filled with the elements of the tempest; but in the sky of the future the star of hope is still burning with all its ancient lustre. I believe in its promises of returning prosperity, honor, and unity to this Government. Aye, sir, hope, hope, the sweet comforter of the weary hours of anguish, the merciful and benignant angel, walking forever by the side of mourning sorrow, the soothing, ministering spirit of every human woe, the stay and support of great nations in their trials, as well as of feeble men; hope, that never dies nor sleeps, but shares its immortality with the soul itself, will bear us through the Red Sea and the wilderness that are before us. I indulge, Mr. Speaker, in this hope, and cherish it as my friend —a friend that always smiles and points upward and onward to bright visions beyond the baleful clouds which now envelop us as a shroud. But the basis of this hope with me is the future action of the people themselves. In the wise, patriotic, and Christian conduct of the American people, I behold this nation lifted up again from its prostration, purified of its bloody pollution, robed in the shining garments of peace; the furious demon of civil war, which has rended us and caused us to sit howling amidst the tombs of the dead, cast out by the spirit of the omnipotent and merciful Master, who walked upon the waters, and bade the winds be still. I expect to see the people raise up the Constitution of our dear and blessed fathers from the deep degradation of its enemies as Moses reared aloft the brazen serpent amidst the stricken children of Israel for the healing of a nation. I expect to see them, wielding the sword in one hand

and appealing to the ballot box with the other, crush and hurl from power corrupt and seditious agitators against the peace and stability of this Union, armed and unarmed, in the North as well as in the South. I expect to see a Congress succeed this, coming fresh from the loyal and honest masses, reflecting their pure and unsullied love for the institutions handed down to us from the days of Revolutionary glory. To this end let all good men everywhere bend their energies. Then will come again the glory and the happiness of our past — those days of purity, of peace, and of brotherly love, over which all America now mourns as the Jewish captive who wept by the waters of Babylon and refused to sing because Judea was desolate. This Union will be restored, armed rebellion and treason will give way to peaceful allegiance, but not until the ancient moderation and wisdom of the founders of the Republic control once more in this Capitol. Unnatural, inhuman hate, the accursed spirit of unholy vengeance, the wild and cruel purposes of unreasoning fanaticism, the debasing lust of avarice and plunder, the unfair and dishonest schemes of sectional aggrandizement, must all give way to the higher and better attributes and instincts of the human heart. In their place must reign the charitable precepts of the Bible and the conservative doctrines of the Constitution; and on these combined it is my solemn conviction that the Union of these States will once more be founded as upon a rock which man cannot overthrow, and which God in his mercy will not.

EDMUND WALLER

(1605–1687)

THE poet Waller played a celebrated if ignominious part in the revolution against the Stuarts. He entered Parliament at the age of sixteen, and before the close of the Short Parliament of 1640 he had already acquired such prominence as an advocate of parliamentary supremacy that the Long Parliament chose him to impeach Justice Crawley, one of the judges whose subserviency to the King had made possible the Ship-Money decision under which the King sought to collect taxes that had not been levied by law. Waller's speech against Crawley shows great ability, and the reader ought not to allow the force of its argument to be impaired by the tradition that when Waller and others formed a combination to check the Radical leaders in Parliament, he behaved with "abject meanness," when arrested saving his own life by informing against his associates. He was banished by Parliament, but Cromwell allowed him to return, and he was in considerable favor at court after the restoration of the Stuarts. He showed his moral and intellectual versatility by a poem lamenting the death of Cromwell, followed not very long afterwards by an ode rejoicing at the "happy return" of Charles II. Charles, who, because Vane had a conscience, sent him to the scaffold, laughed at Waller for his lack of it, took him into favor and allowed him to be returned to Parliament, where it is said his wit made him "the delight of the House." He died in 1687, in his eighty-second year.

"THE TYRANT'S PLEA, NECESSITY"

(Impeaching Justice Crawley in the Case of Ship Money Between the King and John Hampden, Delivered July 6th, 1641)

My Lords:—

I AM commanded by the House of Commons to present you with these articles against Mr. Justice Crawley, which when your lordships shall have been pleased to hear read, I shall take leave according to custom, to say something of what I have collected from the sense of that House, concerning the crimes therein contained.

[Then the charge was read, containing his extrajudicial opinions subscribed, and judgment given for Ship Money; and after a declaration in his charge at an assize, that Ship Money was so inherent a right in the Crown, that it would not be in the power of a Parliament to take it away.]

My lords, not only my wants, but my affections, render me less fit for this employment; for though it has not been my happiness to have the law a part of my breeding, there is no man honors that profession more, or has a greater reverence towards the grave judges, the oracles thereof. Out of Parliament, all our courts of justice are governed or directed by them; and when a Parliament is called, if your lordships were not assisted by them, and the House of Commons by other gentlemen of that robe, experience tells us it might run a hazard of being styled *Parliamentum indoctorum*. But as all professions are obnoxious to the malice of the professors, and by them most easily betrayed, so, my lords, these articles have told you how these brothers of the coif are become *fratres in malo;* how these sons of the law have torn out the bowels of their mother; but the judge, whose charge you last heard, in one expression of his excels no less his fellows than they have done the worst of their predecessors in this conspiracy against the Commonwealth. Of the judgment for Ship Money, and those extrajudicial opinions preceding the same (wherein they are jointly concerned) you have already heard; how unjust and pernicious a proceeding that was, in so public a cause, has been sufficiently expressed to your lordships; but this man, adding despair to our misery, tells us from the bench that Ship Money was a right so inherent in the Crown, that it would not be in the power of any act of Parliament to take it away. Herein, my lords, he did not only give as deep a wound to the Commonwealth as any of the rest, but dipped his dart in such a poison, that, as far as in him lay, it might never receive a cure. As by those abortive opinions, subscribing to the subversion of our property, before he heard what could be said for it, he prevented his own; so by this declaration of his he endeavors to prevent the judgment of your lordships too, and to confine the power of a Parliament, the only place where this mischief might be redressed. Sure, he is more wise and learned than to believe himself in this opinion, or not to know how ridiculous it would appear to a Parliament and how dangerous to himself; and therefore, no doubt, but by saying no Parliament could abolish this judgment, this meaning was, that this judgment had abolished Parliaments.

This imposition of Ship Money springing from a pretended necessity was it not enough that it was now grown annual, but he must entail it upon the state forever,—making necessity inherent to the Crown, and slavery to the subject? Necessity, which, dissolving all law, is so much more prejudicial to his Majesty than to any of us, by how much the law has invested the royal state with a greater power and ample fortune: for so undoubted a truth it has ever been, that kings as well as subjects are involved in the confusion which necessity produces, that the heathen thought their gods also obliged by the same: *Pareamus necessitati, quam nec homines nec dii superant.* This judge then having in his charge at the assize declared the dissolution of the law, by this supposed necessity, with what conscience could he, at the same assize, proceed to condemn and punish men, unless, perhaps, he meant the law was still in force for our destruction, and not for our preservation; that it should have power to kill, and none to protect us? A thing no less horrid than if the sun should burn without lighting us, or the earth serve only to bury, and not to feed and nourish us. But, my lords, to demonstrate that it was a supposititious, imposed necessity, and such as they could remove when they pleased, at the last convention in Parliament, a price was set upon it; for twelve subsidies you may reverse this sentence. It may be said that so much money would have removed the present necessity; for twelve subsidies you shall never suffer necessity again, you shall forever abolish that judgment. Here this mystery is revealed, this visor is pulled off; and now it appears that this Parliament of judges hath very frankly and bountifully presented his majesty with twelve subsidies, to be levied on your lordships and the commons. Certainly there is no privilege which more properly belongs to us than to open the purse of a subject; and yet these judges, who are neither capable of sitting amongst us in the House of Commons, nor with your lordships otherwise than your assistants, have not only assumed to themselves the privilege of Parliament, but presumed at once to make a present to the Crown of all that either your lordships or the commons of England do or shall hereafter possess.

And because this man has had the boldness to put the power of Parliament in balance with the opinion of the judges, I shall entreat your lordships to observe, by way of comparison, the solemn and safe proceeding of the one, with the precipitate dispatch of the other. In Parliament (as your lordships know well)

no new law can pass, or old be abrogated, till it has been thrice read with your lordships, thrice in the Commons House, then it receives the royal assent; so that it is like gold seven times purified: whereas these judges, by this one resolution of theirs, would persuade his Majesty that by naming necessity, he might at once dissolve (at least suspend) the Great Charter, thirty-two times confirmed by his royal progenitors, the Petition of Right, and all other laws provided for the maintainance of the right and property of the subject. A strange force, my lords, in the sound of this word necessity, that like a charm it should silence the laws, while we are despoiled of all we have; for that but a part of our goods were taken was owing to the grace and goodness of the King; for so much as concerns these judges, we have no more left than they, perhaps, may deserve to have, when your lordships shall have passed judgment upon them for this neglect of their oaths, and betraying that public trust, which, for the conservation of our laws, was reposed in them.

Now for the cruelty and unmercifulness of this judgment you may please to remember that in the old law they are forbid to seethe a kid in his mother's milk; of which the received interpretation is, that we should not use that to the destruction of any creature, which was intended for its preservation. Now, my lords, God and nature have given us the sea as our best guard against our enemies; and our ships as our greatest glory above other nations; and how barbarously would these men have let in the sea upon us at once to wash away our liberties, and to overwhelm, if not our land, all the property we have therein, making the supply of our navy a pretense for the ruin of our nation! For observe, I beseech you, the fruit and consequence of this judgment, how this money has prospered, how contrary an effect it has had to the end for which they pretended to take it. On every county a ship is annually imposed; and who would not expect but our seas by this time should be covered by the number of our ships? Alas, my lords, the daily complaints of the decay of our navy tell us how ill Ship Money has maintained the sovereignty of the sea; and by the many petitions which we receive from the wives of those miserable captives at Algiers (being between four and five thousand of our countrymen) it does too evidently appear that to make us slaves at home is not the way to keep us from being made slaves abroad. So far has this judgment been from relieving the present, or preventing the future

necessity, that as it changed our real property into a shadow of a property, so of a feigned it is made a real necessity.

A little before the approach of the Gauls to Rome, while the Romans had yet no apprehension of that danger, there was heard a voice in the air, louder than ordinary: "The Gauls are come"; which cry, after they had sacked the city and besieged the capitol, was held so ominous that Livy relates it as a prodigy. This anticipation of necessity seems to have been no less ominous to us. These judges, like ill-boding birds, have called necessity upon the State in a time, which I dare say they thought themselves in greatest security. But if it seem superstitious to take this as an omen, sure I am we may look on it as a cause of the unfeigned necessity we now suffer: For what regret and discontent had this judgment bred among us? And as when the noise and tumult in a private house grows so loud as to be heard in the streets and calls in the next dwellers, either kindly to appease, or to make their own use of domestic strife, so in all likelihood our known discontentments at home have been a concurrent cause to invite our neighbors to visit us, so much to the expense and trouble of both these kingdoms.

And here, my lords, I cannot but take notice of the most sad effect of this oppression, the ill influence it has had upon the ancient reputation and valor of the English nation; and no wonder, for if it be true that oppression makes a wise man mad, it may well suspend the courage of the valiant. The same happened to the Romans, when, for renown in arms, they most excelled the rest of the world; the story is but short. It was in the time of the Decemviri (and I think the chief troublers of our state may make up that number). The Decemviri, my lords, had subverted the laws, suspended the courts of justice, and (which was the greatest grievance both to the nobility and people) had, for some time, omitted to assemble the senate, which was their Parliament. This, says the historian, did not only deject the Romans, and make them despair of their liberty, but caused them to be less valued by their neighbors. The Sabines take the advantage, and invade them; and now the Decemviri are forced to call a long-desired senate, whereof the people were so glad, "*hostibus belloque gratiam habuerunt.*" This assembly breaks up in discontent; nevertheless, the war proceeds; forces are raised, led by some of the Decemviri, and with the Sabines they meet in the field. I know your lordships expect the event; my

author's words of his countrymen are these: "*Nequid ductu aut auspicio decemvirorum prospere gereretur, vinci se patiebantur?*" —They chose rather to suffer a present diminution of their honor than by victory to confirm the tyranny of their new masters. At their return from their unfortunate expedition, after some distempers and expostulations of the people, another senate, that is, a second Parliament, is called; and there the Decemviri are questioned, deprived of their authority, imprisoned, banished, and some lose their lives: and soon after this vindication of their liberties, the Romans, by their better success, made it appear to the world that liberty and courage dwell always in the same breast and are never to be divorced. No doubt, my lords, but your justice shall have the like effect upon this dispirited people. It is not the restitution of our ancient laws alone, but the restoration of our ancient courage, which is expected from your lordships. I need not say anything to move your just indignation, that this man should so cheaply give away that which your noble ancestors, with so much courage and industry, had so long maintained. You have often been told how careful they were, though with the hazard of their lives and fortunes, to transmit those rights and liberties as entire to posterity as they received them from their fathers: what they did with labor, you may do with ease; what they did with danger, you may do securely. The foundation of our laws is not shaken with the engine of war; they are only blasted with the breath of these men, and by your breath they may be restored.

What judgment your predecessors have given, and what punishment their predecessors have suffered for offenses of this nature, your lordships have already been so well informed, I shall not trouble you with a repetition of those precedents. Only, my lords, something I shall take leave to observe of the person with whose charge I have presented you, that you may the less doubt of the willfulness of his offense. His education in the Inns of Court, his constant practice as a counselor, and experience as a judge, considered with the mischief he has done, makes it appear that this progress of his through the law has been like that of a diligent spy, through a country into which he meant to conduct an enemy.

To let you see he did not offend for company, there is one crime so peculiar to himself, and of such malignity, that it makes him at once incapable of your lordships' favor, and his own sub-

sistence incompatible with the right and property of the subject. For if you leave him in a capacity of interpreting the laws, has he not declared his opinion that your votes and resolutions against Ship Money are void, and that it is not in the power of Parliament to abolish that judgment? To him, my lords, that has thus played with the power of Parliament, we may well apply what was once said to a goat browsing on a vine:—

> "*Rode, caper, vitem, tamen hinc cum stabis ad aras,*
> *In tua quod fundi cornua possit, erit.*"

He has cropt and infringed the privileges of a banished Parliament; but now it is returned, he may find it has power enough to make a sacrifice of him to the better establishment of our laws; and in truth, what other satisfaction can he make his injured country than to confirm by his example those rights and liberties which he had ruined by his opinion? For the proofs, my lords, they are so manifest, that they will give you little trouble in the disquisition; his crimes are already upon record; the delinquent and the witness is the same; having from several seats of judicature proclaimed himself an enemy to our laws and nation *ex ore suo judicabitur*. To which purpose I am commanded by the knights, citizens, and burgesses of the House of Commons to desire your lordships that a speedy proceeding may be had against Mr. Justice Crawley, as the course of Parliament will permit.

SIR ROBERT AND HORACE WALPOLE

(1676–1745; 1717–1797)

SIR ROBERT WALPOLE, Prime Minister of England from 1721 to 1742, stands in the history of his time for the idea which inspired the Sacheverell impeachment—that of "the lawfulness of resistance to unlawful authority." This central idea of the English Whigs of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was not a democratic idea, but rather the modern manifestation of the same impulse under which the English barons forced King John to sign the Magna Charta. The English Whigs of the school to which Walpole belonged believed in the use of force to expel any King who violated the Constitution, but they were as much opposed to Cromwell, backed by his Ironsides, as they were to Charles in the assertion of his prerogative.

Sir Robert Walpole was born at Houghton in Norfolk, and educated at Cambridge. He entered Parliament in 1701. In 1705 he was appointed to the Council of Queen Anne's husband, Prince George of Denmark. In 1708 he became Secretary of War ("Secretary-at-War") and in 1710 Treasurer of the Navy. It is said that he did not approve the impeachment of Sacheverell, but he acted as one of the managers for the House of Commons in conducting it. On the defeat of the Whigs which followed it, he became one of the leaders of the opposition in the House of Commons, and made himself so formidable to the Tories that they expelled him from the House and sent him to the Tower on charges of personal corruption now admitted to have been false. After the return of the Whigs to power under George I., Walpole was advanced until he became First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer (1715–17 and 1721–42). On the ninth of February, 1742, he was raised to the peerage as Earl of Orford. Two days later he retired from office and lived in privacy at his country seat in Norfolk until his death, March 18th, 1745.

Horace Walpole, his third son, was born at London, October 5th, 1717. Entering Parliament in 1741, he attracted attention, not only because of his father's position, but of his own marked talent. His career as a public man did not satisfy him, however, and he retired in 1768, devoting the rest of his life to literature. He became fourth Earl of Orford in 1791, and died at London, March 2d, 1797. Of his numerous works his letters have been most admired by the critical,

but his romance, 'The Castle of Otranto,' is perhaps the best known to the general public. As orators, the Walpoles do not compare with the elder and younger Pitt, but Sir Robert Walpole occupied a position in English history by reason of which he must always command attention among parliamentary speakers, while Horace is entitled to a similar if less marked consideration, if for no other reason than that he provoked Pitt to one of his first great outbursts of eloquence.

THE DEBATE WITH PITT IN 1741

(House of Commons, March 10th, 1741)

[In the celebrated debate with the elder Pitt, the speech which provoked Pitt's reply has been attributed to Sir Robert Walpole, but in Doctor Samuel Johnson's 'Parliamentary Debates' for 1741, from the text of which (in the original edition) the debate is here republished, the speech to which Pitt replied is attributed to Horatio. The debate was on a proposition to limit the wages of sailors to thirty-five shillings a month.]

SIR ROBERT WALPOLE: — Sir, the present business of this assembly is to examine the clause before us; but to deviate from so necessary an inquiry into loud exclamations against the whole bill is to obstruct the course of the debate, to perplex our attention, and interrupt the House in its deliberation upon questions in the determination of which the security of the public is nearly concerned. The war, sir, in which we are now engaged, and, I may add, engaged by the general request of the whole nation, can be prosecuted only by the assistance of the seamen, from whom it is not to be expected that they will sacrifice their immediate advantage to the security of their country. Public spirit, where it is to be found, is the result of reflection, refined by study, and exalted by education, and is not to be hoped for among those whom low fortune has condemned to perpetual drudgery. It must be therefore necessary to supply the defects of education and to produce by salutary coercions those effects which it is vain to expect from other causes. That the service of the sailors will be set up to sale by auction, and that the merchants will bid against the government, is incontestable; nor is there any doubt that they will be able to offer the highest price, because they will take care to repay themselves by raising the value of their goods. Thus, without some restraint upon the merchants, our enemies, who are not debarred by their form of government from

any method which policy can invent, or absolute power put in execution, will preclude all our designs, and set at defiance a nation superior to themselves.

WILLIAM PITT, ESQUIRE, spoke to the following purport:—Sir, it is common for those to have the greatest regard to their own interest who discover the least for that of others. I do not, therefore, despair of recalling the advocates of this bill from the prosecution of their favorite measures by arguments of greater efficacy than those which are founded on reason and justice. Nothing, sir, is more evident than that some degree of reputation is absolutely necessary to men who have any concern in the administration of a government like ours; they must either secure the fidelity of their adherents by the assistance of wisdom, or of virtue; their enemies must either be awed by their honesty, or terrified by their cunning. Mere artless bribery will never gain a sufficient majority to set them entirely free from apprehensions of censure. To different tempers different motives must be applied: some, who place their felicity in being accounted wise are in very little care to preserve the character of honesty; others may be persuaded to join in measures which they easily discover to be weak and ill-concerted, because they are convinced that the authors of them are not corrupt, but mistaken, and are unwilling that any man should be punished for natural defects or casual ignorance. I cannot say, sir, which of these motives influence the advocates for the bill before us; a bill in which such cruelties are proposed as are yet unknown among the most savage nations, such as slavery has not yet borne, or tyranny invented, such as cannot be heard without resentment, nor thought of without horror. It is, sir, perhaps, not unfortunate, that one more expedient has been added rather ridiculous than shocking, and that these tyrants of the administration, who amuse themselves with oppressing their fellow-subjects, who add without reluctance one hardship to another, invade the liberty of those whom they have already overborne with taxes, first plunder and then imprison, who take all opportunities of heightening the public distresses and make the miseries of war the instruments of new oppressions, are too ignorant to be formidable, and owe their success, not to their abilities, but to casual prosperity or to the influence of money.

The other clauses of this bill, complicated at once with cruelty and folly, have been treated with becoming indignation; but this

may be considered with less ardor of resentment, and fewer emotions of zeal, because, though perhaps equally iniquitous, it will do no harm; for a law that can never be executed can never be felt. That it will consume the manufacture of paper and swell the books of statutes is all the good or hurt that can be hoped or feared from a law like this; a law which fixes what is in its own nature mutable, which prescribes rules to the seasons and limits to the wind. I am too well acquainted, sir, with the disposition of its two chief supporters, to mention the contempt with which this law will be treated by posterity, for they have already shown abundantly their disregard of succeeding generations; but I will remind them that they are now venturing their whole interest at once, and hope they will recollect before it is too late that those who believe them to intend the happiness of their country will never be confirmed in their opinion by open cruelty and notorious oppression; and that those who have only their own interest in view will be afraid of adhering to those leaders, however old and practiced in expedients, however strengthened by corruption, or elated with power, who have no reason to hope for success from either their virtue or abilities.

Sir Robert Walpole rose, and spoke as follows: — Sir, every law which extends its influence to great numbers in various relations and circumstances must produce some consequences that were never foreseen or intended, and is to be censured or applauded as the general advantages or inconveniences are found to preponderate. Of this kind is the law before us, a law enforced by the necessity of our affairs, and drawn up with no other intention than to secure the public happiness, and produce that success which every man's interest must prompt him to desire. If in the execution of this law, sir, some inconveniences should arise, they are to be remedied as fast as they are discovered; or, if not capable of a remedy, to be patiently borne in consideration of the general advantage. That some temporary disturbances may be produced is not improbable; the discontent of the sailors may for a short time rise high, and our trade be suspended by their obstinacy; but obstinacy, however determined, must yield to hunger, and when no higher wages can be obtained, they will cheerfully accept of those which are here allowed them. Short voyages, indeed, are not comprehended in the clause, and therefore the sailors will engage in them upon their own terms; but this objection can be of no weight with

those that oppose the clause, because, if it is unjust to limit the wages of the sailors, it is just to leave those voyages without restriction; and those that think the expedient here proposed equitable and rational may perhaps be willing to make some concessions to those who are of a different opinion. That the bill will not remove every obstacle to success, nor add weight to one part of the balance without making the other lighter; that it will not supply the navy without incommoding the merchants in some degree; that it may be sometimes evaded by cunning, and sometimes abused by malice, and that at last it will be less efficacious than is desired may, perhaps, be proved; but it has not yet been proved that any other measures are more eligible, or that we are not to promote the public service as far as we are able, though our endeavors may not produce effects equal to our wishes.

Mr. Attorney-General spoke next to this purport: — Sir, the clause before us cannot, in my opinion, produce any such dreadful consequences as the learned gentleman appears to imagine. However, to remove all difficulties, I have drawn up an amendment which I shall beg leave to propose: "That the contracts which may be affected as the clause now stands shall be void only as to so much of the wages as shall exceed the sum to which the House shall agree to reduce the seamen's pay"; and as to the forfeitures, they are not to be levied upon the sailors, but upon the merchants or trading companies who employ them and who are able to pay greater sums without being involved in poverty and distress. With regard, sir, to the reasons for introducing this clause, they are, in my judgment, valid and equitable. We have found it necessary to fix the rate of money at interest, and the rate of labor in several cases; and if we do not in this case, what will be the consequence? A second embargo on commerce, and perhaps a total stop to all military preparations. Is it reasonable that any man should rate his labor according to the immediate necessities of those that employ him? Or that he should raise his own fortune by the public calamities? If this has hitherto been a practice, it is a practice contrary to the general happiness of society, and ought to prevail no longer. If the sailor, sir, is exposed to greater dangers in time of war, is not the merchant's trade carried on likewise at greater hazard? Is not the freight, equally with the sailors, threatened at once by the ocean and the enemy? And is not the owner's fortune equally impaired, whether the ship be dashed

upon a rock or seized by a privateer? The merchant, therefore, has as much reason for paying less wages in time of war as the sailor for demanding more, and nothing remains but that the legislative power determine a medium between their different interests, with justice, if possible, at least with impartiality.

HORATIO WALPOLE, ESQUIRE, who had stood up several times, but was prevented by other members, spoke next, to this purport: Sir, I was unwilling to interrupt the course of this debate while it was carried on with calmness and decency, by men who do not suffer the ardor of opposition to cloud their reason, or transport them to such expressions as the dignity of this assembly does not admit. I have hitherto deferred to answer the gentleman who declaimed against the bill with such fluency of rhetoric, and such vehemence of gesture, who charged the advocates for the expedients now proposed with having no regard to any interest but their own, and with making laws only to consume paper, and threatened them with the defection of their adherents, and the loss of their influence upon this new discovery of their folly and their ignorance. Nor, sir, do I now answer him for any other purpose than to remind him how little the clamors of rage and petulancy of invectives contribute to the purposes for which this assembly is called together; how little the discovery of truth is promoted, and the security of the nation established by pompous diction and theatrical emotions. Formidable sounds, and furious declamations, confident assertions, and lofty periods, may affect the young and inexperienced, and, perhaps, the gentleman may have contracted his habits of oratory by conversing more with those of his own age than with such as have had more opportunities of acquiring knowledge and more successful methods of communicating their sentiments. If the heat of his temper, sir, would suffer him to attend to those whose age and long acquaintance with business give them an indisputable right to deference and superiority, he would learn, in time, to reason rather than declaim, and to prefer justness of argument, and an accurate knowledge of facts, to sounding epithets and splendid superlatives, which may disturb the imagination for a moment, but leave no lasting impression on the mind. He will learn, sir, that to accuse and prove are very different, and that reproaches unsupported by evidence affect only the character of him that utters them. Excursions of fancy and flights of oratory are, indeed, pardonable in young men, but in no other; and it would

surely contribute more, even to the purpose for which some gentlemen appear to speak, that of depreciating the conduct of the administration, to prove the inconveniences and injustice of this bill, than barely to assert them, with whatever magnificence of language, or appearance of zeal, honesty, or compassion.

WILLIAM PITT, ESQUIRE, replied: — Sir, the atrocious crime of being a young man, which the honorable gentleman has with such spirit and decency charged upon me, I shall neither attempt to palliate, nor deny, but content myself with wishing that I may be one of those whose follies may cease with their youth, and not of that number who are ignorant in spite of experience. Whether youth can be imputed to any man as a reproach, I will not, sir, assume the province of determining; but surely age may become justly contemptible, if the opportunities which it brings have passed away without improvement, and vice appears to prevail when the passions have subsided. The wretch that, after having seen the consequences of a thousand errors, continues still to blunder, and whose age has only added obstinacy to stupidity, is surely the object of either abhorrence or contempt, and deserves not that his gray head should secure him from insults. Much more, sir, is he to be abhorred, who, as he has advanced in age, has receded from virtue, and becomes more wicked with less temptation; who prostitutes himself for money which he cannot enjoy, and spends the remains of his life in the ruin of his country. But youth, sir, is not my only crime; I have been accused of acting a theatrical part. A theatrical part may either imply some peculiarities of gesture, or a dissimulation of my real sentiments and an adoption of the opinions and language of another man.

In the first sense, sir, the charge is too trifling to be confuted, and deserves only to be mentioned that it may be despised. I am at liberty, like every other man, to use my own language; and though I may, perhaps, have some ambition to please this gentleman, I shall not lay myself under any restraint, nor very solicitously copy his diction, or his mein, however matured by age, or modeled by experience. If any man shall by charging me with theatrical behavior imply that I utter any sentiments but my own, I shall treat him as a calumniator and a villain; nor shall any protection shelter him from the treatment which he deserves. I shall, on such an occasion, without scruple, trample upon all those forms with which wealth and dignity intrench

themselves, nor shall anything but age restrain my resentment; age, which always brings one privilege, that of being insolent and supercilious without punishment. But with regard, sir, to those whom I have offended, I am of opinion that if I had acted a borrowed part, I should have avoided their censure; the heat that offended them is the ardor of conviction, and that zeal for the service of my country which neither hope nor fear shall influence me to suppress. I will not sit unconcerned while my liberty is invaded, nor look in silence upon public robbery. I will exert my endeavors at whatever hazard to repel the aggressor and drag the thief to justice, whoever may protect them in their villainy, and whoever may partake of their plunder. And if the honorable gentleman —

Here THOMAS WINNINGTON, ESQUIRE, called to order, and [William Pitt, Esquire, sitting down] spoke thus: — It is necessary, sir, that the order of this assembly be observed, and the debate resumed without personal altercations. Such expressions as have been vented on this occasion become not an assembly intrusted with the liberty and welfare of their country. To interrupt the debate on a subject so important as that before us is, in some measure, to obstruct the public happiness and violate our trust. But much more heinous is the crime of exposing our determinations to contempt, and inciting the people to suspicion and mutiny by indecent reflections or unjust insinuations. I do not, sir, undertake to decide the controversy between the two gentlemen, but must be allowed to observe that no diversity of opinion can justify the violation of decency and the use of rude and virulent expressions; expressions dictated only by resentment, and uttered without regard to —

Here WILLIAM PITT, ESQUIRE, called to order, and said: — Sir, if this be to preserve order, there is no danger of indecency from the most licentious tongue; for what calumny can be more atrocious, or what reproach more severe than that of speaking with regard to anything but truth. Order may sometimes be broken by passion, or inadvertency, but will hardly be re-established by monitors like this who cannot govern his own passion, whilst he is restraining the impetuosity of others. Happy, sir, would it be for mankind if every one knew his own province; we should not then see the same man at once a criminal and a judge, nor would this gentleman assume the right of dictating to others what he has not learned himself. That I may return in some

degree the favor which he intends me I will advise him never hereafter to exert himself on the subject of order; but whenever he finds himself inclined to speak on such occasions to remember how he has now succeeded, and condemn in silence what his censures will never reform.

SIR ROBERT WALPOLE ON PATRIOTS

(Delivered in Parliament in 1740 on a Motion to Dismiss Him from the Council)

IT HAS been observed, Mr. Speaker, by several gentlemen, in vindication of this motion, that if it should be carried, neither my life, liberty, nor estate, will be affected. But do the honorable gentlemen consider my character and reputation as of no moment? Is it no imputation to be arraigned before this House in which I have sat forty years, and to have my name transmitted to posterity with disgrace and infamy? I will not conceal my sentiments, that to be named in Parliament as a subject of inquiry is to me a matter of great concern; but I have the satisfaction, at the same time, to reflect that the impression to be made depends upon the consistency of the charge and the motives of the prosecutors. Had the charge been reduced to specific allegations, I should have felt myself called upon for a specific defense. Had I served a weak or wicked master, and implicitly obeyed his dictates, obedience to his commands must have been my only justification. But, as it has been my good fortune to serve a master who wants no bad ministers, and would have hearkened to none, my defense must rest on my own conduct. The consciousness of innocence is sufficient support against my present prosecutors.

Survey and examine the individuals who usually support the measures of Government, and those who are in opposition. Let us see to whose side the balance preponderates. Look round both houses, and see to which side the balance of virtue and talents preponderates. Are all these on one side, and not on the other? Or are all these to be counterbalanced by an affected claim to the exclusive title of patriotism? Gentlemen have talked a great deal about patriotism. A venerable word, when duly practiced! But I am sorry to say that of late it has been so much hackneyed about that it is in danger of falling into dis-

grace. The very idea of true patriotism is lost; and the term has been prostituted to the very worst of purposes. A patriot, sir! Why, patriots spring up like mushrooms! I could raise fifty of them within the four-and-twenty hours. I have raised many of them in one night. It is but refusing to gratify an unreasonable or an insolent demand, and up starts a patriot. I have never been afraid of making patriots; but I disdain and despise all their efforts. This pretended virtue proceeds from personal malice and from disappointed ambition. There is not a man amongst them whose particular aim I am not able to ascertain, and from what motive he has entered into the lists of opposition!

JOSEPH WARREN

(1741–1775)

WARREN'S reputation as an orator is due to the eloquence with which he denounced the occupation of Boston by a British military garrison. In 1772 and again in 1775 he was chosen to deliver the oration of the day on the anniversary of the Boston Massacre. The oration of 1775 was delivered in times of great excitement, when the orator's life was threatened and the outbreak of hostilities was imminent. In force of idea, as well as in form, it is greatly inferior to the address of March 5th, 1772, in which Warren states eloquently and without exaggeration the grievance which was the immediate cause of revolution. That grievance was the use of military garrisons by England to do police duty in the Colonies. Warren's objection to it could be replied to only in one way,—as it was at Bunker Hill, when he fell under the fire with which Lord North's administration imagined it was possible to "pacify the Colonies."

Warren was born at Roxbury, Massachusetts, June 11th, 1741. Graduating at Harvard in 1759, he began the practice of medicine in Boston, where, when the agitation against England's colonial policy began, he became one of the leaders of the American Revolutionary party. In 1774 he was Chairman of the Committee of Public Safety, and President of the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts. He fought at the battle of Lexington and was made Major General of the Massachusetts militia. At Bunker Hill he served as a volunteer aid, and was killed there June 17th, 1775.

CONSTITUTIONAL LIBERTY AND ARBITRARY POWER

(An Oration Delivered at Boston, March 5th, 1772)

Quis talia fando,
Myrmidonum, Dolopumve, aut duri miles Ulyssei,
Temperet a lacrymis.—VIRGIL.

WHEN we turn over the historic page and trace the rise and fall of states and empires, the mighty revolutions which have so often varied the face of the world strike our minds with solemn surprise, and we are naturally lead to endeavor to search out the causes of such astonishing changes.

That man is formed for social life is an observation which, upon our first inquiry, presents itself immediately to our view, and our reason approves that wise and generous principle which actuated the first founders of civil government; an institution which hath its origin in the weakness of individuals, and hath for its end the strength and security of all; and so long as the means of effecting this important end are thoroughly known, and religiously attended to, government is one of the richest blessings to mankind, and ought to be held in the highest veneration.

In young and new-formed communities the grand design of this institution is most generally understood and the most strictly regarded; the motives which urged to the social compact cannot be at once forgotten, and that equality which is remembered to have subsisted so lately among them prevents those who are clothed with authority from attempting to invade the freedom of their brethren; or if such an attempt be made, it prevents the community from suffering the offender to go unpunished: every member feels it to be his interest and knows it to be his duty to preserve inviolate the constitution on which the public safety depends, and he is equally ready to assist the magistrate in the execution of the laws and the subject in defense of his right; and so long as this noble attachment to a Constitution, founded on free and benevolent principles, exists in full vigor, in any State, that State must be flourishing and happy.

It was this noble attachment to a free Constitution which raised ancient Rome from the smallest beginnings to that bright summit of happiness and glory to which she arrived; and it was the loss of this which plunged her from that summit into the black gulf of infamy and slavery. It was this attachment which

inspired her Senators with wisdom; it was this which glowed in the breast of her heroes; it was this which guarded her liberties and extended her dominions, gave peace at home, and commanded respect abroad; and when this decayed her magistrates lost their reverence for justice and the laws, and degenerated into tyrants and oppressors,—her senators, forgetful of their dignity, and seduced by base corruption, betrayed their country,—her soldiers, regardless of their relation to the community, and urged only by the hopes of plunder and rapine, unfeelingly committed the most flagrant enormities; and, hired to the trade of death, with relentless fury they perpetrated the most cruel murders, whereby the streets of imperial Rome were drenched with her noblest blood. Thus this empress of the world lost her dominions abroad, and her inhabitants, dissolute in their manners, at length became contented slaves; and she stands to this day the scorn and derision of nations, and a monument of this eternal truth that public happiness depends on a virtuous and unshaken attachment to a free Constitution.

It was this attachment to a Constitution, founded on free and benevolent principles, which inspired the first settlers of this country,—they saw with grief the daring outrages committed on the free Constitution of their native land,—they knew nothing but a civil war could at that time restore its pristine purity. So hard was it to resolve to imbrue their hands in the blood of their brethren that they chose rather to quit their fair possessions and seek another habitation in a distant clime. When they came to this new world, which they fairly purchased of the Indian natives, the only rightful proprietors, they cultivated the then barren soil by their incessant labor, and defended their dear-bought possessions with the fortitude of the Christian and the bravery of the hero.

After various struggles, which, during the tyrannic reigns of the house of Stuart, were constantly kept up between right and wrong, between liberty and slavery, the connection between Great Britain and this colony was settled in the reign of King William and Queen Mary by a compact, the conditions of which were expressed in a charter, by which all the liberties and immunities of British subjects were confided to this province, as fully and as absolutely as they possibly could be by any human instrument which can be devised. And it is undeniably true that the greatest and most important right of a British subject is that he

shall be governed by no laws but those to which he, either in person or by his representatives, hath given his consent: and this I will venture to assert is the great basis of British freedom; it is interwoven with the Constitution; and whenever this is lost, the Constitution must be destroyed.

The British Constitution, of which ours is a copy, is a happy compound of the three forms, under some of which all governments may be ranged,—namely, monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy; of these three the British legislature is composed, and without the consent of each branch, nothing can carry with it the force of a law; but when a law is to be passed for raising a tax, that law can originate only in the democratic branch, which is the House of Commons in Britain, and the House of Representatives here. The reason is obvious: they and their constituents are to pay much the largest part of it; but as the aristocratic branch, which in Britain is the House of Lords, and in this province the Council, are also to pay some part, their consent is necessary; and as the monarchic branch, which in Britain is the King, and with us either the King in person, or the Governor whom he shall be pleased to appoint to act in his stead, is supposed to have a just sense of his own interest, which is that of all the subjects in general, his consent is also necessary, and when the consent of these three branches is obtained, the taxation is most certainly legal.

Let us now allow ourselves a few moments to examine the late acts of the British Parliament for taxing America. Let us with candor judge whether they are constitutionally binding upon us; if they are, in the name of justice let us submit to them, without one murmuring word.

First, I would ask whether the members of the British House of Commons are the democracy of this province? if they are, they are either the people of this province, or are elected by the people of this province to represent them, and have therefore a constitutional right to originate a bill for taxing them; it is most certain they are neither; and therefore nothing done by them can be said to be done by the democratic branch of our Constitution. I would next ask whether the lords who compose the aristocratic branch of the Legislature are peers of America. I never heard it was (even in these extraordinary times) so much as pretended, and if they are not, certainly no act of theirs can be said to be the act of the aristocratic branch of our Constitution. The power of

the monarchic branch we, with pleasure, acknowledge resides in the King, who may act either in person or by his representative; and I freely confess that I can see no reason why a proclamation for raising revenues in America issued by the King's sole authority would not be equally consistent with our own Constitution, and therefore equally binding upon us with the late acts of the British Parliament for taxing us; for it is plain that if there is any validity in those acts, it must arise altogether from the monarchical branch of the Legislature; and I further think that it would be at least as equitable; for I do not conceive it to be of the least importance to us by whom our property is taken away, so long as it is taken without our consent; and I am very much at a loss to know by what figure of rhetoric, the inhabitants of this province can be called free subjects, when they are obliged to obey implicitly such laws as are made for them by men three thousand miles off, whom they know not, and whom they never empowered to act for them, or how they can be said to have property, when a body of men over whom they have not the least control, and who are not in any way accountable to them, shall oblige them to deliver up part, or the whole of their substance without even asking their consent: and yet whoever pretends that the late acts of the British Parliament for taxing America ought to be deemed binding upon us must admit at once that we are absolute slaves, and have no property of our own; or else that we may be freemen, and at the same time under a necessity of obeying the arbitrary commands of those over whom we have no control or influence, and that we may have property of our own, which is entirely at the disposal of another. Such gross absurdities, I believe, will not be relished in this enlightened age: and it can be no matter of wonder that the people quickly perceived, and seriously complained of the inroads which these acts must unavoidably make upon their liberty, and of the hazard to which their whole property is by them exposed; for if they may be taxed without their consent, even in the smallest trifle, they may also, without their consent, be deprived of everything they possess, although never so valuable, never so dear. Certainly it never entered the hearts of our ancestors that after so many dangers in this then desolate wilderness, their hard-earned property should be at the disposal of the British Parliament; and as it was soon found that this taxation could not be supported by reason and argument, it seemed necessary that one act of oppression should be enforced

by another, and therefore, contrary to our just rights as possessing, or at least having a just title to possess, all the liberties and immunities of British subjects, a standing army was established among us in time of peace; and evidently for the purpose of effecting that, which it was one principal design of the founders of the Constitution to prevent when they declared a standing army in a time of peace to be against law,—namely, for the enforcement of obedience to acts which, upon fair examination, appeared to be unjust and unconstitutional.

The ruinous consequences of standing armies to free communities may be seen in the histories of Syracuse, Rome, and many other once flourishing states, some of which have now scarce a name! their baneful influence is most suddenly felt, when they are placed in populous cities; for, by a corruption of morals, the public happiness is immediately affected! and that this is one of the effects of quartering troops in a populous city is a truth to which many a mourning parent, many a lost despairing child in this metropolis, must bear a very melancholy testimony. Soldiers are also taught to consider arms as the only arbiters by which every dispute is to be decided between contending states;—they are instructed implicitly to obey their commanders, without inquiring into the justice of the cause they are engaged to support; hence it is, that they are ever to be dreaded as the ready engines of tyranny and oppression. And it is too observable that they are prone to introduce the same mode of decision in the disputes of individuals, and from thence have often arisen great animosities between them and the inhabitants, who, whilst in a naked, defenseless state, are frequently insulted and abused by an armed soldiery. And this will be more especially the case when the troops are informed that the intention of their being stationed in any city is to overawe the inhabitants. That this was the avowed design of stationing an armed force in this town is sufficiently known; and we, my fellow-citizens, have seen, we have felt the tragical effects! The fatal fifth of March, 1770, can never be forgotten. The horrors of that dreadful night are but too deeply impressed on our hearts. Language is too feeble to paint the emotion of our souls, when our streets were stained with the blood of our brethren—when our ears were wounded by the groans of the dying, and our eyes were tormented with the sight of the mangled bodies of the dead. When our alarmed imagination presented to our view our

houses wrapt in flames, our children subjected to the barbarous caprice of the raging soldiery,—our beauteous virgins exposed to all the insolence of unbridled passion,—our virtuous wives, endeared to us by every tender tie, falling a sacrifice to worse than brutal violence, and perhaps like the famed Lucretia, distracted with anguish and despair, ending their wretched lives by their own fair hands. When we beheld the authors of our distress parading in our streets, or drawn up in a regular *battalia*, as though in a hostile city, our hearts beat to arms; we snatched our weapons, almost resolved by one decisive stroke to avenge the death of our slaughtered brethren and to secure from future danger all that we held most dear; but propitious heaven forbade the bloody carnage and saved the threatened victims of our too keen resentment, not by their discipline, not by their regular array,—no, it was royal George's livery that proved their shield, —it was that which turned the pointed engines of destruction from their breasts. The thoughts of vengeance were soon buried in our inbred affection to Great Britain, and calm reason dictated a method of removing the troops more mild than an immediate resource to the sword. With united efforts you urged the immediate departure of the troops from the town; you urged it, with a resolution which insured success; you obtained your wishes, and the removal of the troops was effected without one drop of their blood being shed by the inhabitants.

The immediate actors in the tragedy of that night were surrendered to justice. It is not mine to say how far they were guilty. They have been tried by the country and acquitted of murder! and they are not to be again arraigned at an earthly bar; but surely the men who have promiscuously scattered death amidst the innocent inhabitants of a populous city ought to see well to it that they be prepared to stand at the bar of an Omniscient Judge! and all who contrived or encouraged the stationing troops in this place have reasons of eternal importance to reflect with deep contrition on their base designs, and humbly to repent of their impious machinations.

The infatuation which hath seemed, for a number of years, to prevail in the British councils, with regard to us, is truly astonishing! what can be proposed by the repeated attacks made upon our freedom, I really cannot surmise,—even leaving justice and humanity out of question. I do not know one single advantage which can arise to the British nation from our being enslaved:

— I know not of any gains, which can be wrung from us by oppression, which they may not obtain from us by our own consent, in the smooth channel of commerce: we wish the wealth and prosperity of Britain; we contribute largely to both. Doth what we contribute lose all its value, because it is done voluntarily? the amazing increase of riches to Britain, the great rise of the value of her lands, the flourishing state of her navy, are striking proofs of the advantages derived to her from her commerce with the Colonies; and it is our earnest desire that she may still continue to enjoy the same emoluments, until her streets are paved with American gold; only let us have the pleasure of calling it our own, while it is in our own hands; but this it seems is too great a favor — we are to be governed by the absolute command of others; our property is to be taken away without our consent — if we complain, our complaints are treated with contempt; if we assert our rights, that assertion is deemed insolence; if we humbly offer to submit the matter to the impartial decision of reason, the sword is judged the most proper argument to silence our murmurs! but this cannot long be the case — surely the British nation will not suffer the reputation of their justice and their honor to be thus sported away by a capricious ministry; no, they will in a short time open their eyes to their true interest; they nourish in their own breasts a noble love of liberty; they hold her dear, and they know that all who have once possessed her charms had rather die than suffer her to be torn from their embraces — they are also sensible that Britain is so deeply interested in the prosperity of the Colonies that she must eventually feel every wound given to their freedom; they cannot be ignorant that more dependence may be placed on the affections of a brother than on the forced service of a slave; they must approve your efforts for the preservation of your rights; from a sympathy of soul they must pray for your success; and I doubt not but they will ere long exert themselves effectually to redress your grievances. Even the dissolute reign of King Charles II., when the House of Commons impeached the Earl of Clarendon of high treason, the first article on which they founded their accusation was that "he had designed a standing army to be raised, and to govern the kingdom thereby." And the eighth article was that "he had introduced an arbitrary government into his Majesty's plantation," — a terrifying example to those who are now forging chains for this country!

You have, my friends and countrymen, frustrated the designs of your enemies by your unanimity and fortitude; it was your union and determined spirit which expelled those troops who polluted your streets with innocent blood. You have appointed this anniversary as a standard memorial of the bloody consequences of placing an armed force in a populous force, and of your deliverance from the dangers which then seemed to hang over your heads; and I am confident that you never will betray the least want of spirit when called upon to guard your freedom. None but they who set a just value upon the blessings of liberty are worthy to enjoy her — your illustrious fathers were her zealous votaries — when the blasting frowns of tyranny drove her from public view, they clasped her in their arms, they cherished her in their generous bosoms, they brought her safe over the rough ocean, and fixed her seat in this then dreary wilderness; they nursed her infant age with the most tender care; for her sake they patiently bore the severest hardships; for her support, they underwent the most rugged toils; in her defense they boldly encountered the most alarming dangers: neither the ravenous beasts that ranged the woods for prey, nor the more furious savages of the wilderness, could damp their ardor! Whilst with one hand they broke the stubborn glebe, with the other they grasped their weapons, ever ready to protect her from danger. No sacrifice, not even their own blood, was esteemed too rich a libation for her altar! God prospered their valor; they preserved her brilliancy unsullied; they enjoyed her whilst they lived, and, dying, bequeathed the dear inheritance to your care. And as they left you this glorious legacy, they have undoubtedly transmitted to you some portion of their noble spirit, to inspire you with virtue to merit her and courage to preserve her; you surely cannot, with such examples before your eyes, as every page of the history of this country affords, suffer your liberties to be ravished from you by lawless force, or cajoled away by flattery and fraud.

The voice of your fathers' blood cries to you from the ground: My sons scorn to be slaves! In vain we met the frowns of tyrants — in vain we crossed the boisterous ocean, found a new world, and prepared it for the happy residence of liberty — in vain we toiled — in vain we fought — we bled in vain, if you, our offspring, want valor to repel the assaults of her invaders! Stain not the glory of your worthy ancestors, but like them resolve never to part with your birthright; be wise in your delib-

erations, and determined in your exertions for the preservation of your liberties. Follow not the dictates of passion, but enlist yourselves under the sacred banner of reason; use every method in your power to secure your rights; at least prevent the curses of posterity from being heaped upon your memories.

If you, with united zeal and fortitude, oppose the torrent of oppression; if you feel the true fire of patriotism burning in your breasts; if you, from your souls, despise the most gaudy dress that slavery can wear; if you really prefer the lonely cottage (whilst blest with liberty) to gilded palaces, surrounded with the ensigns of slavery, you may have the fullest assurance that tyranny, with her whole accursed train, will hide their hideous heads in confusion, shame, and despair — if you perform your part, you must have the strongest confidence that the same Almighty Being who protected your pious and venerable forefathers, who enabled them to turn a barren wilderness into a fruitful field, who so often made bare his arm for their salvation, will still be mindful of you, their offspring.

May this Almighty Being graciously preside in all our councils! May he direct us to such measures as he himself shall approve and be pleased to bless! May we ever be a people favored of God! May our land be a land of liberty, the seat of virtue, the asylum of the oppressed, a name and a praise in the whole earth, until the last shock of time shall bury the empires of the world in one common undistinguished ruin!

GEORGE WASHINGTON

(1732–1799)

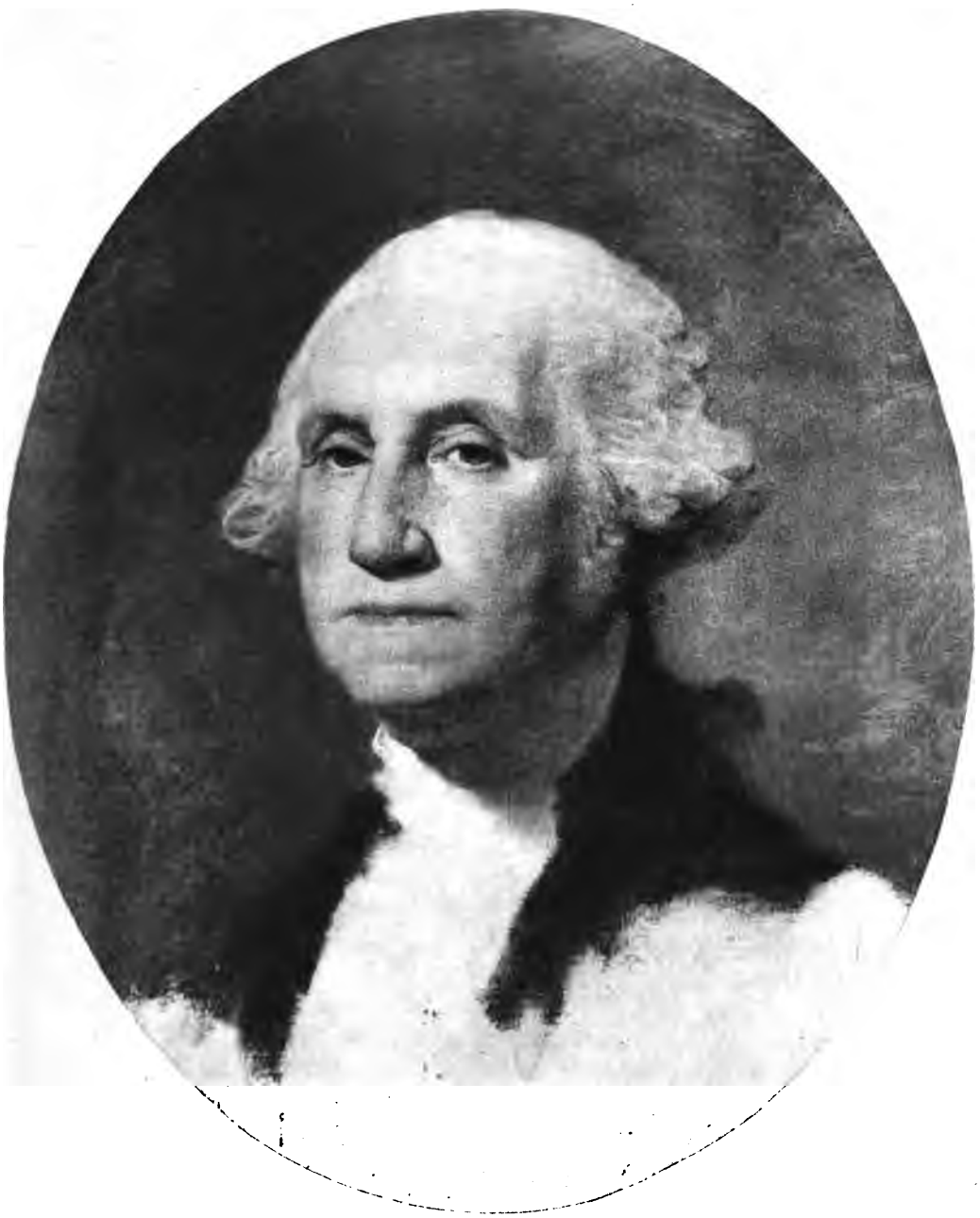
IT HAS become fashionable to question Washington's literary ability and to attribute the authorship of the Farewell Address and of his Inaugurals largely to others. Fortunately, however, the original draft of the Farewell Address as Washington made it has been preserved in his own handwriting, with the alterations and additions made to it after his consultation with his advisers. The manuscript shows that, though he accepted suggestions and amendments with the modesty and good judgment which were always a mode of expression for his great ability, the governing ideas of the address are completely his own, while its literary style also is his, except that, as amended, it formalizes his occasional colloquialisms. Of Washington's life and character it is unnecessary to speak, but it will not be inappropriate to emphasize the facts of his education against the tendency to assume that great virtue and great intellect are separable. His education did not extend to the classics as did that of most Virginia country gentlemen in his time, and because of this it is frequently asserted that "he could not spell"—with the inference that he was ignorant even of the rudiments of an English education. It will be remembered, however, by every one who has studied the growth of the English language that in the first half of the eighteenth century its spelling had not become completely formalized, even in London itself. While the dictionaries of Bailey and others preceded that of Samuel Johnson, that great work did not appear until 1755, and although there was a general tendency to accept it as a conclusive authority, it was not possible that its orthography could at once supplant the habit of phonetic spelling, which had prevailed to a greater or less extent from the time of Alfred the Great until the beginning of the eighteenth century. If Washington was at times individualistic in his spelling and in his syntax, he was no more so than Alfred the Great, whose compositions, in spite of such idiosyncracies, are accepted by all competent authorities as admirable examples of the English of his time.

Washington was a man of great intellect, not a great orator, because he had never attempted to cultivate fluency of speech,—preferring, indeed, to reject it and to avoid it, that he might win the

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

After a Portrait by Gilbert Stuart.

STUART painted no less than five full-length portraits of Washington, besides others from life studies. This, the most popular of them all, has in it the calm strength of an ideal which — whether or not Washington himself ever fully realized it — did not exist at all until his life made it possible.



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deliberation of idea which made him what he was; but if as a public speaker he never achieved such a masterpiece as the Gettysburg Address, it was not because he lacked the ability or had failed to achieve the education necessary to give expression to great ideas. His Inaugural Address of 1789 and his Farewell Address are in every sense his own, and of their kind they are incomparable.

W. V. B.

FIRST INAUGURAL ADDRESS

(Delivered in New York, April 30th, 1789)

Fellow-Citizens of the Senate and of the House of Representatives:—

AMONG the vicissitudes incident to life, no event could have filled me with greater anxieties than that of which the notification was transmitted by your order, and received on the fourth day of the present month. On the one hand, I was summoned by my country, whose voice I can never hear but with veneration and love, from a retreat which I had chosen with the fondest predilection, and, in my flattering hopes, with an immutable decision as the asylum of my declining years; a retreat which was rendered every day more necessary as well as more dear to me, by the addition of habit to inclination, and of frequent interruptions in my health to the gradual waste committed on it by time; on the other hand, the magnitude and difficulty of the trust to which the voice of my country called me, being sufficient to awaken, in the wisest and most experienced of her citizens, a distrustful scrutiny into his qualifications, could not but overwhelm with despondence one who, inheriting inferior endowments from nature, and unpracticed in the duties of civil administration, ought to be peculiarly conscious of his own deficiencies. In this conflict of emotions, all I dare aver is that it has been my faithful study to collect my duty from a just appreciation of every circumstance by which it might be affected. All I dare hope is, that if, in executing this task, I have been too much swayed by a grateful remembrance of former instances, or by an affectionate sensibility to this transcendent proof of the confidence of my fellow-citizens and have thence too little consulted my incapacity as well as disinclination for the weighty and untried cares before me, my error will be palliated by the motives which misled me, and its consequences be judged by

my country, with some share of the partiality in which they originated.

Such being the impression under which I have, in obedience to the public summons, repaired to the present station, it would be peculiarly improper to omit, in this first official act, my fervent supplications to that Almighty Being, who rules over the universe, who presides in the councils of nations, and whose providential aids can supply every human defect, that his benediction may consecrate to the liberties and happiness of the people of the United States a government instituted by themselves for these essential purposes, and may enable every instrument employed in its administration to execute, with success, the functions allotted to his charge. In tendering this homage to the Great Author of every public and private good, I assure myself that it expresses your sentiments not less than my own; nor those of my fellow-citizens at large less than either. No people can be bound to acknowledge and adore the Invisible Hand which conducts the affairs of men, more than the people of the United States. Every step by which they have advanced to the character of an independent nation seems to have been distinguished by some token of providential agency. And, in the important revolution just accomplished, in the system of their united government, the tranquil deliberations and voluntary consent of so many distinct communities, from which the event has resulted, cannot be compared with the means by which most governments have been established, without some return of pious gratitude, along with a humble anticipation of the future blessings, which the past seems to presage. These reflections, arising out of the present crisis, have forced themselves too strongly on my mind to be suppressed. You will join with me, I trust, in thinking that there are none under the influence of which the proceedings of a new and free government can more auspiciously commence.

By the article establishing the Executive Department, it is made the duty of the President "to recommend to your consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient." The circumstances under which I now meet you will acquit me from entering into that subject further than to refer you to the great constitutional charter under which we are assembled; and which, in defining your powers, designates the objects to which your attention is to be given. It will be more consistent with those circumstances and far more congenial with the feelings

which actuate me, to substitute, in place of a recommendation of particular measures, the tribute that is due to the talents, the rectitude, and the patriotism which adorn the characters selected to devise and adopt them. In these honorable qualifications, I behold the surest pledges, that as, on one side, no local prejudices or attachments, no separate views nor party animosities, will misdirect the comprehensive and equal eye which ought to watch over this great assemblage of communities and interests — so, on another, that the foundations of our national policy will be laid in the pure and immutable principles of private morality; and the pre-eminence of a free government be exemplified by all the attributes which can win the affections of its citizens and command the respect of the world.

I dwell on this prospect with every satisfaction which an ardent love for my country can inspire: since there is no truth more thoroughly established than that there exists, in the economy and course of nature, an indissoluble union between virtue and happiness — between duty and advantage — between the genuine maxims of an honest and magnanimous policy and the solid rewards of public prosperity and felicity — since we ought to be no less persuaded that the propitious smiles of heaven can never be expected on a nation that disregards the eternal rules of order and right which heaven itself has ordained — and since the preservation of the sacred fire of liberty, and the destiny of the republican model of government, are justly considered as deeply, perhaps as finally staked, on the experiment intrusted to the hands of the American people.

Besides the ordinary objects submitted to your care, it will remain with your judgment to decide how far an exercise of the occasional power delegated by the fifth article of the Constitution is rendered expedient, at the present juncture, by the nature of objections which have been urged against the system, or by the degree of inquietude which has given birth to them. Instead of undertaking particular recommendations on this subject, in which I could be guided by no lights derived from official opportunities, I shall again give way to my entire confidence in your discernment and pursuit of the public good. For I assure myself that, whilst you carefully avoid every alteration which might endanger the benefits of a united and effective government, or which ought to await the future lessons of experience, a reverence for the characteristic rights of freemen and a regard for the public

harmony will sufficiently influence your deliberations on the question how far the former can be more impregnably fortified, or the latter be safely and more advantageously promoted.

To the preceding observations I have one to add, which will be most properly addressed to the House of Representatives. It concerns myself, and will therefore be as brief as possible.

When I was first honored with a call into the service of my country, then on the eve of an arduous struggle for its liberties, the light in which I contemplated my duty required that I should renounce every pecuniary compensation. From this resolution I have in no instance departed. And being still under the impressions which produced it, I must decline, as inapplicable to myself, any share in the personal emoluments which may be indispensably included in a permanent provision for the Executive Department; and must accordingly pray that the pecuniary estimates for the station in which I am placed may, during my continuation in it, be limited to such actual expenditures as the public good may be thought to require.

Having thus imparted to you my sentiments, as they have been awakened by the occasion which brings us together, I shall take my present leave, but not without resorting once more to the benign Parent of the human race, in humble supplication, that, since he has been pleased to favor the American people with opportunities for deliberating in perfect tranquillity, and dispositions for deciding with unparalleled unanimity, on a form of government for the security of their union and the advancement of their happiness, so his divine blessing may be equally conspicuous in the enlarged views, the temperate consultations, and the wise measures on which the success of this government must depend.

FAREWELL ADDRESS

(Issued September 17th, 1796)

Friends and Fellow-Citizens:—

THE period for a new election of a citizen to administer the executive government of the United States being not far distant, and the time actually arrived when your thoughts must be employed in designating the person who is to be clothed with that important trust, it appears to me proper, especially as

it may conduce to a more distinct expression of the public voice, that I should now apprize you of the resolution I have formed, to decline being considered among the number of those out of whom a choice is to be made.

I beg you, at the same time, to do me the justice to be assured that this resolution has not been taken without a strict regard to all the considerations appertaining to the relation which binds a dutiful citizen to his country; and that in withdrawing the tender of service, which silence in my situation might imply, I am influenced by no diminution of zeal for your future interest, no deficiency of grateful respect for your past kindness, but am supported by a full conviction that the step is compatible with both.

The acceptance of, and continuance hitherto in, the office to which your suffrages have twice called me have been a uniform sacrifice of inclination to the opinion of duty and to a deference for what appeared to be your desire. I constantly hoped that it would have been much earlier in my power, consistently with motives which I was not at liberty to disregard, to return to that retirement from which I had been reluctantly drawn. The strength of my inclination to do this, previous to the last election, had even led to the preparation of an address to declare it to you; but mature reflection on the then perplexed and critical posture of our affairs with foreign nations, and the unanimous advice of persons entitled to my confidence, impelled me to abandon the idea.

I rejoice that the state of your concerns, external as well as internal, no longer renders the pursuit of inclination incompatible with the sentiment of duty or propriety, and am persuaded, whatever partiality may be retained for my services, that, in the present circumstances of our country, you will not disapprove my determination to retire.

The impressions with which I first undertook the arduous trust were explained on the proper occasion. In the discharge of this trust, I will only say that I have, with good intentions, contributed towards the organization and administration of the government the best exertions of which a very fallible judgment was capable. Not unconscious in the outset of the inferiority of my qualifications, experience in my own eyes, perhaps still more in the eyes of others, has strengthened the motives to diffidence of myself; and every day the increasing weight of years

admonishes me more and more that the shade of retirement is as necessary to me as it will be welcome. Satisfied that if any circumstances have given peculiar value to my services, they were temporary, I have the consolation to believe that, while choice and prudence invite me to quit the political scene, patriotism does not forbid it.

In looking forward to the moment which is intended to terminate the career of my public life, my feelings do not permit me to suspend the deep acknowledgment of that debt of gratitude which I owe to my beloved country for the many honors it has conferred upon me; still more for the steadfast confidence with which it has supported me; and for the opportunities I have thence enjoyed of manifesting my inviolable attachment, by services faithful and persevering, though in usefulness unequal to my zeal. If benefits have resulted to our country from these services, let it always be remembered to your praise, and as an instructive example in our annals, that under circumstances in which the passions, agitated in every direction, were liable to mislead, amidst appearances sometimes dubious, vicissitudes of fortune often discouraging, in situations in which not unfrequently want of success has countenanced the spirit of criticism, the constancy of your support was the essential prop of the efforts, and a guarantee of the plans by which they were effected. Profoundly penetrated with this idea, I shall carry it with me to my grave, as a strong incitement to unceasing vows that heaven may continue to you the choicest tokens of its beneficence; that your union and brotherly affection may be perpetual; that the free Constitution, which is the work of your hands, may be sacredly maintained; that its administration in every department may be stamped with wisdom and virtue; that, in fine, the happiness of the people of these States, under the auspices of liberty, may be made complete by so careful a preservation and so prudent a use of this blessing as will acquire to them the glory of recommending it to the applause, the affection, and adoption of every nation which is yet a stranger to it.

Here, perhaps, I ought to stop. But a solicitude for your welfare, which cannot end but with my life, and the apprehension of danger, natural to that solicitude, urge me, on an occasion like the present, to offer to your solemn contemplation, and to recommend to your frequent review, some sentiments which are the result of much reflection, of no inconsiderable observation, and

which appear to me all-important to the permanency of your felicity as a people. These will be offered to you with the more freedom, as you can only see in them the disinterested warnings of a parting friend, who can possibly have no personal motive to bias his counsel. Nor can I forget, as an encouragement to it, your indulgent reception of my sentiments on a former and not dissimilar occasion.

Interwoven as is the love of liberty with every ligament of your hearts, no recommendation of mine is necessary to fortify or confirm the attachment.

The unity of government which constitutes you one people is also now dear to you. It is justly so, for it is a main pillar in the edifice of your real independence, the support of your tranquillity at home, your peace abroad; of your safety; of your prosperity; of that very liberty which you so highly prize. But as it is easy to foresee that, from different causes and from different quarters, much pains will be taken, many artifices employed to weaken in your minds the conviction of this truth; as this is the point in your political fortress against which the batteries of internal and external enemies will be most constantly and actively (though often covertly and insidiously) directed, it is of infinite moment that you should properly estimate the immense value of your national union to your collective and individual happiness; that you should cherish a cordial, habitual, and immovable attachment to it; accustoming yourselves to think and speak of it as of the palladium of your political safety and prosperity; watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety; discountenancing whatever may suggest even a suspicion that it can in any event be abandoned; and indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts.

For this you have every inducement of sympathy and interest. Citizens, by birth or choice, of a common country, that country has a right to concentrate your affections. The name of American, which belongs to you in your national capacity, must always exalt the just pride of patriotism more than any appellation derived from local discriminations. With slight shades of difference, you have the same religion, manners, habits, and political principles. You have in a common cause fought and triumphed together; the independence and liberty you possess are the work

of joint counsels, and joint efforts of common dangers, sufferings, and successes.

But these considerations, however powerfully they address themselves to your sensibility, are greatly outweighed by those which apply more immediately to your interest. Here every portion of our country finds the most commanding motives for carefully guarding and preserving the union of the whole.

The North, in an unrestrained intercourse with the South, protected by the equal laws of a common government, finds in the productions of the latter great additional resources of maritime and commercial enterprise and precious materials of manufacturing industry. The South, in the same intercourse, benefiting by the agency of the North, sees its agriculture grow and its commerce expand. Turning partly into its own channels the seamen of the North, it finds its particular navigation invigorated; and, while it contributes, in different ways, to nourish and increase the general mass of the national navigation, it looks forward to the protection of a maritime strength, to which itself is unequally adapted. The East, in a like intercourse with the West, already finds, and in the progressive improvement of interior communications by land and water, will more and more find a valuable vent for the commodities which it brings from abroad, or manufactures at home. The West derives from the East supplies requisite to its growth and comfort, and, what is perhaps of still greater consequence, it must of necessity owe the secure enjoyment of indispensable outlets for its own productions to the weight, influence, and the future maritime strength of the Atlantic side of the Union, directed by an indissoluble community of interest as one nation. Any other tenure by which the West can hold this essential advantage, whether derived from its own separate strength, or from an apostate and unnatural connection with any foreign power, must be intrinsically precarious.

While, then, every part of our country thus feels an immediate and particular interest in union, all the parts combined cannot fail to find in the united mass of means and efforts greater strength, greater resource, proportionably greater security from external danger, a less frequent interruption of their peace by foreign nations; and, what is of inestimable value, they must derive from union an exemption from those broils and wars between themselves, which so frequently afflict neighboring countries not tied together by the same governments, which their own rival-

ships alone would be sufficient to produce, but which opposite foreign alliances, attachments, and intrigues would stimulate and embitter. Hence, likewise, they will avoid the necessity of those overgrown military establishments which, under any form of government, are inauspicious to liberty, and which are to be regarded as particularly hostile to republican liberty. In this sense it is that your union ought to be considered as a main prop of your liberty, and that the love of the one ought to endear to you the preservation of the other.

These considerations speak a persuasive language to every reflecting and virtuous mind, and exhibit the continuance of the Union as a primary object of patriotic desire. Is there a doubt whether a common government can embrace so large a sphere? Let experience solve it. To listen to mere speculation in such a case were criminal. We are authorized to hope that a proper organization of the whole with the auxiliary agency of governments for the respective subdivisions, will afford a happy issue to the experiment. It is well worth a fair and full experiment. With such powerful and obvious motives to union, affecting all parts of our country, while experience shall not have demonstrated its impracticability, there will always be reason to distrust the patriotism of those who in any quarter may endeavor to weaken its bands.

In contemplating the causes which may disturb our Union, it occurs as matter of serious concern that any ground should have been furnished for characterizing parties by geographical discriminations, Northern and Southern, Atlantic and Western; whence designing men may endeavor to excite a belief that there is a real difference of local interests and views. One of the expedients of party to acquire influence within particular districts is to misrepresent the opinions and aims of other districts. You cannot shield yourselves too much against the jealousies and heartburnings which spring from these misrepresentations; they tend to render alien to each other those who ought to be bound together by fraternal affection. The inhabitants of our Western country have lately had a useful lesson on this head; they have seen, in the negotiation by the Executive, and in the unanimous ratification by the Senate, of the treaty with Spain, and in the universal satisfaction at that event, throughout the United States, a decisive proof how unfounded were the suspicions propagated among them of a policy in the General Government and in the

Atlantic States unfriendly to their interests in regard to the Mississippi; they have been witnesses to the formation of two treaties, that with Great Britain, and that with Spain, which secure to them everything they could desire, in respect to our foreign relations, towards confirming their prosperity. Will it not be their wisdom to rely for the preservation of these advantages on the Union by which they were procured? Will they not henceforth be deaf to those advisers, if such there are, who would sever them from their brethren and connect them with aliens?

To the efficacy and permanency of your Union, a government for the whole is indispensable. No alliance, however strict, between the parts can be an adequate substitute; they must inevitably experience the infractions and interruptions which all alliances in all times have experienced. Sensible of this momentous truth, you have improved upon your first essay, by the adoption of a constitution of government better calculated than your former for an intimate union, and for the efficacious management of your common concerns. This government, the offspring of our own choice, uninfluenced and unawed, adopted upon full investigation and mature deliberation, completely free in its principles, in the distribution of its powers, uniting security with energy, and containing within itself a provision for its own amendment, has a just claim to your confidence and your support. Respect for its authority, compliance with its laws, acquiescence in its measures, are duties enjoined by the fundamental maxims of true liberty. The basis of our political systems is the right of the people to make and to alter their constitutions of government. But the Constitution which at any time exists, till changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole people, is sacredly obligatory upon all. The very idea of the power and the right of the people to establish government presupposes the duty of every individual to obey the established government.

All obstructions to the execution of the laws, all combinations and associations, under whatever plausible character, with the real design to direct, control, counteract, or awe the regular deliberation and action of the constituted authorities, are destructive of this fundamental principle, and of fatal tendency. They serve to organize faction, to give it an artificial and extraordinary force; to put, in the place of the delegated will of the nation the will of a party, often a small but artful and enterprising minority of the community; and, according to the alternate triumphs of dif-

ferent parties, to make the public administration the mirror of the ill-concerted and incongruous projects of faction, rather than the organ of consistent and wholesome plans digested by common counsels and modified by mutual interests.

However combinations or associations of the above description may now and then answer popular ends, they are likely, in the course of time and things, to become potent engines, by which cunning, ambitious, and unprincipled men will be enabled to subvert the power of the people and to usurp for themselves the reins of government, destroying afterwards the very engines which have lifted them to unjust dominion.

Towards the preservation of your government, and the permanency of your present happy state, it is requisite, not only that you steadily discountenance irregular oppositions to its acknowledged authority, but also that you resist with care the spirit of innovation upon its principles, however specious the pretexts. One method of assault may be to effect, in the forms of the Constitution, alterations which will impair the energy of the system, and thus to undermine what cannot be directly overthrown. In all the changes to which you may be invited, remember that time and habit are at least as necessary to fix the true character of governments as of other human institutions; that experience is the surest standard by which to test the real tendency of the existing constitution of a country; that facility in changes, upon the credit of mere hypothesis and opinion, exposes to perpetual change, from the endless variety of hypothesis and opinion; and remember, especially, that for the efficient management of your common interests, in a country so extensive as ours, a government of as much vigor as is consistent with the perfect security of liberty is indispensable. Liberty itself will find in such a government, with powers properly distributed and adjusted, its surest guardian. It is, indeed, little else than a name, where the government is too feeble to withstand the enterprises of faction, to confine each member of the society within the limits prescribed by the laws, and to maintain all in the secure and tranquil enjoyment of the rights of person and property.

I have already intimated to you the danger of parties in the State, with particular reference to the founding of them on geographical discriminations. Let me now take a more comprehensive view, and warn you in the most solemn manner against the baneful effects of the spirit of party generally.

This spirit, unfortunately, is inseparable from our nature, having its root in the strongest passions of the human mind. It exists under different shapes in all governments, more or less stifled, controlled, or repressed; but, in those of the popular form, it is seen in its greatest rankness, and is truly their worst enemy.

The alternate domination of one faction over another, sharpened by the spirit of revenge, natural to party dissension, which in different ages and countries has perpetrated the most horrid enormities, is itself a frightful despotism. But this leads at length to a more formal and permanent despotism. The disorders and miseries which result gradually incline the minds of men to seek security and repose in the absolute power of an individual; and sooner or later the chief of some prevailing faction, more able or more fortunate than his competitors, turns this disposition to the purposes of his own elevation, on the ruins of public liberty.

Without looking forward to an extremity of this kind (which nevertheless ought not to be entirely out of sight), the common and continual mischiefs of the spirit of party are sufficient to make it the interest and duty of a wise people to discourage and restrain it.

It serves always to distract the public councils and enfeeble the public administration. It agitates the community with ill-founded jealousies and false alarms, kindles the animosity of one part against another, foments occasionally riot and insurrection. It opens the door to foreign influence and corruption, which finds a facilitated access to the government itself through the channels of party passions. Thus the policy and the will of one country are subjected to the policy and will of another.

There is an opinion that parties in free countries are useful checks upon the administration of the government and serve to keep alive the spirit of liberty. This within certain limits is probably true; and in governments of a monarchical cast, patriotism may look with indulgence, if not with favor, upon the spirit of party. But in those of the popular character, in governments purely elective, it is a spirit not to be encouraged. From their natural tendency, it is certain there will always be enough of that spirit for every salutary purpose. And there being constant danger of excess, the effort ought to be by force of public opinion, to mitigate and assuage it. A fire not to be quenched, it

demands a uniform vigilance to prevent its bursting into a flame, lest, instead of warming, it should consume.

It is important, likewise, that the habits of thinking in a free country should inspire caution in those intrusted with its administration, to confine themselves within their respective constitutional spheres, avoiding in the exercise of the powers of one department to encroach upon another. The spirit of encroachment tends to consolidate the powers of all the departments in one, and thus to create, whatever the form of government, a real despotism. A just estimate of that love of power, and proneness to abuse it, which predominates in the human heart, is sufficient to satisfy us of the truth of this position. The necessity of reciprocal checks in the exercise of political power, by dividing and distributing it into different depositaries, and constituting each the guardian of the public weal against invasions by the others, has been evinced by experiments ancient and modern; some of them in our country and under our own eyes. To preserve them must be as necessary as to institute them. If, in the opinion of the people, the distribution or modification of the constitutional powers be in any particular wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment in the way which the Constitution designates. But let there be no change by usurpation; for though this, in one instance, may be the instrument of good, it is the customary weapon by which free governments are destroyed. The precedent must always greatly overbalance in permanent evil any partial or transient benefit, which the use can at any time yield.

Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism, who should labor to subvert these great pillars of human happiness, these firmest props of the duties of men and citizens. The mere politician, equally with the pious man, ought to respect and to cherish them. A volume could not trace all their connections with private and public felicity. Let it simply be asked: Where is the security for property, for reputation, for life, if the sense of religious obligation desert the oaths which are the instruments of investigation in courts of justice? And let us with caution indulge the supposition that morality can be maintained without religion. Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure, reason and experience both forbid us

to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle.

It is substantially true that virtue or morality is a necessary spring of popular government. The rule, indeed, extends with more or less force to every species of free government. Who that is a sincere friend to it can look with indifference upon attempts to shake the foundation of the fabric?

Promote then, as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge. In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened.

As a very important source of strength and security, cherish public credit. One method of preserving it is to use it as sparingly as possible, avoiding occasions of expense by cultivating peace, but remembering also that timely disbursements to prepare for danger frequently prevent much greater disbursements to repel it, avoiding likewise the accumulation of debt, not only by shunning occasions of expense, but by vigorous exertion in time of peace to discharge the debts which unavoidable wars may have occasioned, not ungenerously throwing upon posterity the burden which we ourselves ought to bear. The execution of these maxims belongs to your representatives, but it is necessary that public opinion should co-operate. To facilitate to them the performance of their duty, it is essential that you should practically bear in mind that towards the payment of debts there must be revenue; that to have revenue there must be taxes; that no taxes can be devised which are not more or less inconvenient and unpleasant; that the intrinsic embarrassment, inseparable from the selection of the proper objects (which is always a choice of difficulties), ought to be a decisive motive for a candid construction of the conduct of the government in making it, and for a spirit of acquiescence in the measures for obtaining revenue, which the public exigencies may at any time dictate.

Observe good faith and justice towards all nations; cultivate peace and harmony with all. Religion and morality enjoin this conduct; and can it be, that good policy does not equally enjoin it? It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and at no distant period, a great nation, to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a people always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence. Who can doubt that, in the course of time and things, the fruits of such a plan would richly repay any tem-

porary advantages which might be lost by a steady adherence to it? Can it be that Providence has not connected the permanent felicity of a nation with its virtue? The experiment, at least, is recommended by every sentiment which ennobles human nature. Alas! is it rendered impossible by its vices?

In the execution of such a plan, nothing is more essential than that permanent, inveterate antipathies against particular nations, and passionate attachments for others, should be excluded; and that, in place of them, just and amicable feelings towards all should be cultivated. The nation which indulges towards another a habitual hatred or a habitual fondness is in some degree a slave. It is a slave to its animosity or to its affection, either of which is sufficient to lead it astray from its duty and its interest. Antipathy in one nation against another disposes each more readily to offer insult and injury, to lay hold of slight causes of umbrage, and to be haughty and intractable, when accidental or trifling occasions of dispute occur. Hence, frequent collisions, obstinate, envenomed, and bloody contests. The nation, prompted by ill-will and resentment, sometimes impels to war the government, contrary to the best calculations of policy. The government sometimes participates in the national propensity, and adopts through passion what reason would reject; at other times it makes the animosity of the nation subservient to projects of hostility instigated by pride, ambition, and other sinister and pernicious motives. The peace often, sometimes perhaps the liberty, of nations, has been the victim.

So likewise, a passionate attachment of one nation for another produces a variety of evils. Sympathy for the favorite nation, facilitating the illusion of an imaginary common interest in cases where no real common interest exists, and infusing into one the enmities of the other, betrays the former into a participation in the quarrels and wars of the latter without adequate inducement or justification. It leads also to concessions to the favorite nation of privileges denied to others which is apt doubly to injure the nation making the concessions; by unnecessarily parting with what ought to have been retained, and by exciting jealousy, ill-will, and a disposition to retaliate, in the parties from whom equal privileges are withheld. And it gives to ambitious, corrupted, or deluded citizens (who devote themselves to the favorite nation), facility to betray or sacrifice the interests of their own country, without odium, sometimes even with popularity; gilding, with the

appearances of a virtuous sense of obligation, a commendable deference for public opinion, or a laudable zeal for public good, the base or foolish compliances of ambition, corruption, or infatuation.

As avenues to foreign influence in innumerable ways, such attachments are particularly alarming to the truly enlightened and independent patriot. How many opportunities do they afford to tamper with domestic factions, to practice the arts of seduction, to mislead public opinion, to influence or awe the public councils? Such an attachment of a small or weak towards a great and powerful nation dooms the former to be the satellite of the latter.

Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence (I conjure you to believe me, fellow-citizens) the jealousy of a free people ought to be constantly awake, since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of republican government. But that jealousy to be useful must be impartial; else it becomes the instrument of the very influence to be avoided, instead of a defense against it. Excessive partiality for one foreign nation and excessive dislike of another cause those whom they actuate to see danger only on one side, and serve to veil and even second the arts of influence on the other. Real patriots who may resist the intrigues of the favorite are liable to become suspected and odious, while its tools and dupes usurp the applause and confidence of the people, to surrender their interests.

The great rule of conduct for us in regard to foreign nations is in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little political connection as possible. So far as we have already formed engagements, let them be fulfilled with perfect good faith. Here let us stop.

Europe has a set of primary interests which to us have none, or a very remote relation. Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence, therefore, it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves by artificial ties in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics, or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships or enmities.

Our detached and distant situation invites and enables us to pursue a different course. If we remain one people under an efficient government, the period is not far off when we may defy

material injury from external annoyance; when we may take such an attitude as will cause the neutrality we may at any time resolve upon to be scrupulously respected; when belligerent nations, under the impossibility of making acquisitions upon us, will not lightly hazard the giving us provocation; when we may choose peace or war, as our interest, guided by justice, shall counsel.

Why forego the advantages of so peculiar a situation? Why quit our own to stand upon foreign ground? Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalship, interest, humor or caprice?

It is our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world; so far, I mean, as we are now at liberty to do it; for let me not be understood as capable of patronizing infidelity to existing engagements. I hold the maxim no less applicable to public than to private affairs, that honesty is always the best policy. I repeat it, therefore, let those engagements be observed in their genuine sense. But, in my opinion, it is unnecessary and would be unwise to extend them.

Taking care always to keep ourselves by suitable establishments on a respectable defensive posture, we may safely trust to temporary alliances for extraordinary emergencies.

Harmony, liberal intercourse with all nations, are recommended by policy, humanity, and interest. But even our commercial policy should hold an equal and impartial hand; neither seeking nor granting exclusive favors or preferences; consulting the natural course of things; diffusing and diversifying by gentle means the streams of commerce, but forcing nothing; establishing (with powers so disposed, in order to give trade a stable course, to define the rights of our merchants, and to enable the government to support them) conventional rules of intercourse, the best that present circumstances and mutual opinion will permit, but temporary, and liable to be from time to time abandoned or varied, as experience and circumstances shall dictate; constantly keeping in view that it is folly in one nation to look for disinterested favors from another; that it must pay with a portion of its independence for whatever it may accept under that character; that, by such acceptance, it may place itself in the condition of having given equivalents for nominal favors, and yet of being reproached with ingratitude for not giving more.

There can be no greater error than to expect or calculate upon real favors from nation to nation. It is an illusion, which experience must cure, which a just pride ought to discard.

In offering to you, my countrymen, these counsels of an old and affectionate friend, I dare not hope they will make the strong and lasting impression I could wish; that they will control the usual current of the passions, or prevent our nation from running the course which has hitherto marked the destiny of nations. But, if I may even flatter myself that they may be productive of some partial benefit, some occasional good; that they may now and then recur to moderate the fury of party spirit, to warn against the mischiefs of foreign intrigue, to guard against the impostures of pretended patriotism; this hope will be a full recompense for the solicitude for your welfare, by which they have been dictated.

How far in the discharge of my official duties I have been guided by the principles which have been delineated, the public records and other evidences of my conduct must witness to you and to the world. To myself, the assurance of my own conscience is, that I have at least believed myself to be guided by them.

In relation to the still subsisting war in Europe, my proclamation of the twenty-second of April, 1793, is the index of my plan. Sanctioned by your approving voice, and by that of your representatives in both houses of Congress, the spirit of that measure has continually governed me, uninfluenced by any attempts to deter or divert me from it.

After deliberate examination, with the aid of the best lights I could obtain, I was well satisfied that our country, under all the circumstances of the case, had a right to take, and was bound in duty and interest to take, a neutral position. Having taken it, I determined, as far as should depend upon me, to maintain it, with moderation, perseverance, and firmness.

The considerations which respect the right to hold this conduct, it is not necessary on this occasion to detail. I will only observe that, according to my understanding of the matter, that right, so far from being denied by any of the belligerent powers, has been virtually admitted by all.

The duty of holding a neutral conduct may be inferred, without anything more, from the obligation which justice and humanity impose on every nation, in cases in which it is free to act, to

maintain inviolate the relations of peace and amity towards other nations.

The inducements of interest for observing that conduct will best be referred to your own reflections and experience. With me a predominant motive has been to endeavor to gain time to our country to settle and mature its yet recent institutions, and to progress without interruption to that degree of strength and consistency which is necessary to give it, humanly speaking, the command of its own fortunes.

Though, in reviewing the incidents of my administration, I am unconscious of intentional error, I am nevertheless too sensible of my defects not to think it probable that I may have committed many errors. Whatever they may be, I fervently beseech the Almighty to avert or mitigate the evils to which they may tend. I shall also carry with me the hope that my country will never cease to view them with indulgence; and that, after forty-five years of my life dedicated to its service with an upright zeal, the faults of incompetent abilities will be consigned to oblivion, as myself must soon be to the mansions of rest.

Relying on its kindness in this as in other things, and actuated by that fervent love towards it, which is so natural to a man who views in it the native soil of himself and his progenitors for several generations, I anticipate with pleasing expectation that retreat in which I promise myself to realize, without alloy, the sweet enjoyment of partaking, in the midst of my fellow-citizens, the benign influence of good laws under a free government, the ever-favorite object of my heart, and the happy reward, as I trust, of our mutual cares, labors, and dangers.

DANIEL WEBSTER

(1782–1852)

CARL SCHURZ calls Webster's 'Reply to Hayne' "a glorious speech which holds the first place among the monuments of American oratory." However much or little the sectional feeling which resulted in the Civil War had to do with giving the great arguments of Webster on the one side and of Calhoun on the other their first reputation and vogue, the more considerate judgment of the twentieth century is not likely to deny Webster the first place among American orators of the nineteenth. If he was less logical than Calhoun and less "magnetic" than Clay, his intellect had a broader range than belonged to either. In the Senate, at the bar of the Supreme Court, before great audiences of the people assembled on historical occasions; on the platform in the lecture hall, or before a jury in a murder case, he showed such power as no other orator of the century in America or in Europe has demonstrated over such a range of subjects. That he died embittered, believing his political life a failure; that he was never able to organize his admirers so as to make his influence effective; that his leadership failed at a great crisis and left the conservative spirit of the country without means of expressing itself effectively,—these considerations do not impair at all his claim to the first rank among the orators of his time. There may have been many greater statesmen than he, but that, since Burke, there has been a greater orator, no admirer of Webster need admit. Burke alone surpasses him in genius as he surpasses Burke in the power to make genius immediately effective. Burke's power depended on a deep, sympathetic earnestness as that of Chatham did on devotion to right in the abstract. With his own great strength increased by the strength of their qualities, Webster might have become the greatest statesman as well as the greatest orator of the nineteenth century. As it was, he went from compromise to compromise, where from the first successful compromise was impossible. That this was due to patriotism, to a knowledge of the realities of the Constitution, and to a mastering sense of the sacredness of a contract, every just judge of his career must acknowledge. He did not believe the Constitution "a rope of sand," as did some, or "a league with death and a covenant with hell," as did others. To him it was an obligation so sacred that he regarded with abhorrence those who declared that "a

THE TRENTANOVE STATUE OF WEBSTER.

After a Photograph from the Original in Washington City.

TRENTANOVE'S statue of Webster was unveiled January 18th, 1900, the President and other high officials of the United States officiating as masters of ceremony. In accepting the statue on behalf of the Government, Secretary Long said: «To-day on Massachusetts Avenue, name dear to him as to her, with his face to the Capitol, we dedicate this statue of the great expounder of the Constitution, the defender of the Union, our foremost lawyer, orator, and statesman, whose words, imbedded in the common political literature of his countrymen, come to the tongue like passages from the poets or the Psalms.»

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higher law» made it a duty to violate it. He thought that the spirit of concession and compromise which made possible the formation of the «more perfect union» of 1789 ought to prevail in all the relations of the States and the peoples of the States to each other. He hated slavery not less than did Washington and Jefferson, but he would have trusted wholly to evolution, to education, and to moral force to eradicate it. If «union with slaveholders» had in it such an element of shame as it seemed to Garrison, Phillips, and Parker to have, to him, nevertheless, that union seemed to command the awful respect due to a parent, and its shame itself to compel — not exposure, but the awe which inspired the Sons of Noah to walk backward with averted face to cast their mantle over their parent's nakedness. It was not because of his weakness, but of his most admirable trait that Webster died heartbroken and deserted by his generation. To the last he had the same abundant charity for the utmost weaknesses of the people of South Carolina and Louisiana that Washington had for those of Massachusetts and New Hampshire. Like Clay, who had much of this great strength of affection for all his countrymen, he had weaknesses which made him ineffective at the great crisis of his career, but these weaknesses are in no sense responsible for his view of the Constitution as a series of compromises on which «the more perfect union» depended. Against nullifiers, abolitionists, and secessionists, he opposed a sense of rectitude which had its origin in a deep-seated consciousness of human fallibility. He felt his own weakness too much, he was too well aware of the weaknesses of others to be willing to drive any one to the wall, no matter how great his advantage of superior knowledge or superior virtue. To him «liberty and union, now and forever, one and inseparable,» meant a permanent policy of continual patience under the wrongs which men inflict on each other through «unenlightened selfishness.» That it was possible through the use of force to compel his opponents to become «everlastingly right» would have seemed to him absurd, and had he lived with the power to do so, he would have gone on fighting first and compromising afterwards — compromising more readily when he had the advantage than when he had lost it — and this to the end of the chapter. He was a «compromiser» because he was one of the greatest constitutional lawyers, one of the most benevolent men, one of the most patriotic Americans of his generation.

Though he had none of the organizing power of a great political leader, the testimony of his contemporaries shows that his power over those who heard him and sympathized with his thought sufficiently to cease conscious resistance to it, was too great to be adequately described. «Three or four times,» writes Professor Ticknor, after listening to one of his speeches, «I thought my temples would

burst with a gush of blood; for after all you must know that I am aware that it is no compacted or connected whole, but a collection of wonderful fragments of burning eloquence to which his manner gave tenfold force. When I came out I was almost afraid to come near him. It seemed to me that he was like the mount that might not be touched and that burned with fire."

Born at Salisbury, New Hampshire, January 18th, 1782, Webster was educated at Dartmouth College, from which he graduated in 1801. He was admitted to the bar in Boston in 1805, but he returned to New Hampshire and served two terms as a Federalist Member of Congress (1813–17) before finally settling in Massachusetts. Beginning to practice law in Boston in 1816, he engaged two years later in the celebrated Dartmouth College case which made him his first great reputation as a lawyer. From 1823 to 1827 he represented a Massachusetts district in the Lower House of Congress, and from 1827 to 1841 he was United States Senator from Massachusetts. His speeches of 1830 in reply to Hayne and his later speeches in reply to Calhoun made him the acknowledged leader of the Northern Whigs. After serving as Secretary of State in Tyler's Cabinet (1841–43), he returned to the Senate in 1845 and served until 1850, when he again entered the Cabinet as Secretary of State under Fillmore. He died October 24th, 1852, at Marshfield, Massachusetts. From 1836 until 1852 he had been a candidate for the Presidency. His speech in favor of the Compromise of 1850 alienated his Northern admirers, and the sectional issue was already forced too far to allow the Southern Whigs to unite upon him. He was bitterly attacked by former friends in New England, and it was believed with good reason that his suffering under such attacks hastened, if it did not cause, his death.

W. V. B.

THE REPLY TO HAYNE

(Delivered in the United States Senate, in Reply to Hayne on the Foot Resolution, January 26th, 1830)

Mr. President: —

WHEN the mariner has been tossed for many days, in thick weather, and on an unknown sea, he naturally avails himself of the first pause in the storm, the earliest glance of the sun, to take his latitude, and ascertain how far the elements have driven him from his true course. Let us imitate this prudence, and, before we float further on the waves of this debate, refer to the point from which we departed, that we may at least

be able to conjecture where we now are. I ask for the reading of the resolution.

The Secretary read the resolution, as follows: —

"*Resolved*, That the Committee on Public Lands be instructed to inquire and report the quantity of public lands remaining unsold within each State and Territory, and whether it be expedient to limit, for a certain period, the sales of the public lands to such lands only as have heretofore been offered for sale, and are now subject to entry at the minimum price. And, also, whether the office of Surveyor General, and some of the land offices, may not be abolished without detriment to the public interest; or whether it be expedient to adopt measures to hasten the sales and extend more rapidly the surveys of the public lands."

We have thus heard, sir, what the resolution is, which is actually before us for consideration; and it will readily occur to every one that it is almost the only subject about which something has not been said in the speech, running through two days, by which the Senate has been now entertained by the gentleman from South Carolina. Every topic in the wide range of our public affairs, whether past or present — everything, general or local, whether belonging to national politics, or party politics, seems to have attracted more or less of the honorable Member's attention, save only the resolution before the Senate. He has spoken of everything but the public lands. They have escaped his notice. To that subject, in all his excursions, he has not paid even the cold respect of a passing glance.

When this debate, sir, was to be resumed on Thursday morning, it so happened that it would have been convenient for me to be elsewhere. The honorable Member, however, did not incline to put off the discussion to another day. He had a shot, he said, to return, and he wished to discharge it. That shot, sir, which it was kind thus to inform us was coming, that we might stand out of the way, or prepare ourselves to fall before it, and die with decency, has now been received. Under all advantages, and with expectation awakened by the tone which preceded it, it has been discharged, and has spent its force. It may become me to say no more of its effect than that if nobody is found, after all, either killed or wounded by it, it is not the first time, in the history of human affairs, that the vigor and success of the war have not quite come up to the lofty and sounding phrase of the manifesto.

The gentleman, sir, in declining to postpone the debate, told the Senate, with the emphasis of his hand upon his heart, that there was something rankling here, which he wished to relieve.

[Mr. Hayne rose, and disclaimed having used the word «rankling.»]

It would not, Mr. President, be safe for the honorable Member to appeal to those around him upon the question whether he did, in fact, make use of that word. But he may have been unconscious of it. At any rate, it is enough that he disclaims it. But still, with or without the use of that particular word, he had yet something here, he said, of which he wished to rid himself by an immediate reply. In this respect, sir, I have a great advantage over the honorable gentleman. There is nothing here, sir, which gives me the slightest uneasiness; neither fear, nor anger, nor that which is sometimes more troublesome than either, —the consciousness of having been in the wrong. There is nothing, either originating here, or now received here by the gentleman's shot. Nothing original, for I had not the slightest feeling of disrespect or unkindness towards the honorable Member. Some passages, it is true, had occurred since our acquaintance in this body, which I could have wished might have been otherwise; but I had used philosophy and forgotten them. When the honorable Member rose, in his first speech, I paid him the respect of attentive listening; and when he sat down, though surprised, and, I must say, even astonished, at some of his opinions, nothing was further from my intention than to commence any personal warfare: and through the whole of the few remarks I made in answer, I avoided, studiously and carefully, everything which I thought possible to be construed into disrespect. And, sir, while there is thus nothing originating here, which I wished at any time, or now wish to discharge, I must repeat, also, that nothing has been received here which rankles, or in any way gives me annoyance. I will not accuse the honorable Member of violating the rules of civilized war,—I will not say that he poisoned his arrows. But whether his shafts were, or were not, dipped in that which would have caused rankling, if they had reached, there was not, as it happened, quite strength enough in the bow to bring them to their mark. If he wishes now to gather up those shafts, he must look for them elsewhere; they will not be found fixed and quivering in the object at which they were aimed.

The honorable Member complained that I had slept on his speech. I must have slept on it, or not slept at all. The moment the honorable Member sat down, his friend from Missouri rose, and, with much honeyed commendation of the speech, suggested that the impressions which it had produced were too charming and delightful to be disturbed by other sentiments or other sounds, and proposed that the Senate should adjourn. Would it have been quite amiable in me, sir, to interrupt this excellent good feeling? Must I not have been absolutely malicious, if I could have thrust myself forward to destroy sensations thus pleasing? Was it not much better and kinder, both to sleep upon them myself and to allow others also the pleasure of sleeping upon them? But if it be meant, by sleeping upon his speech, that I took time to prepare a reply to it, it is quite a mistake; owing to other engagements I could not employ even the interval between the adjournment of the Senate and its meeting the next morning, in attention to the subject of this debate. Nevertheless, sir, the mere matter of fact is undoubtedly true,— I did sleep on the gentleman's speech; and slept soundly. And I slept equally well on his speech of yesterday, to which I am now replying. It is quite possible that in this respect, also, I possess some advantage over the honorable Member, attributable, doubtless, to a cooler temperament on my part; for, in truth, I slept upon his speeches remarkably well. But the gentleman inquires why he was made the object of such a reply? Why was he singled out? If an attack has been made on the East, he, he assures us, did not begin it,— it was the gentleman from Missouri. Sir, I answered the gentleman's speech because I happened to hear it: and because, also, I chose to give an answer to that speech which, if unanswered, I thought most likely to produce injurious impressions. I did not stop to inquire who was the original drawer of the bill. I found a responsible indorser before me, and it was my purpose to hold him liable, and to bring him to his just responsibility without delay. But, sir, this interrogatory of the honorable Member was only introductory to another. He proceeded to ask me whether I had turned upon him, in this debate, from the consciousness that I should find an overmatch if I ventured on a contest with his friend from Missouri. If, sir, the honorable Member, *ex gratia modestiæ*, had chosen thus to defer to his friend and to pay him a compliment, without intentional disparagement to others, it would have been

quite according to the friendly courtesies of debate, and not at all ungrateful to my own feelings. I am not one of those, sir, who esteem any tribute of regard, whether light and occasional, or more serious and deliberate, which may be bestowed on others, as so much unjustly withholden from themselves. But the tone and manner of the gentleman's question forbid me that I thus interpret it. I am not at liberty to consider it as nothing more than a civility to his friend. It had an air of taunt and disparagement, something of the loftiness of asserted superiority, which does not allow me to pass over it without notice. It was put as a question for me to answer, and so put as if it were difficult for me to answer: Whether I deemed the Member from Missouri an overmatch for myself in debate here. It seems to me, sir, that this is extraordinary language, and an extraordinary tone, for the discussions of this body.

Matches and overmatches! Those terms are more applicable elsewhere than here, and fitter for other assemblies than this. Sir, the gentleman seems to forget where and what we are. This is a Senate; a Senate of equals: of men of individual honor and personal character, and of absolute independence. We know no masters; we acknowledge no dictators. This is a hall for mutual consultation and discussion; not an arena for the exhibition of champions. I offer myself, sir, as a match for no man; I throw the challenge of debate at no man's feet. But then, sir, since the honorable Member has put the question in a manner that calls for an answer, I will give him an answer; and I tell him that, holding myself to be the humblest of the Members here, I yet know nothing in the arm of his friend from Missouri, either alone, or when aided by the arm of his friend from South Carolina, that need deter even me from espousing whatever opinions I may choose to espouse, from debating whatever I may choose to debate, or from speaking whatever I may see fit to say on the floor of the Senate. Sir, when uttered as matter of commendation or compliment, I should dissent from nothing which the honorable Member might say of his friend. Still less do I put forth any pretensions of my own. But, when put to me as a matter of taunt, I throw it back, and say to the gentleman that he could possibly say nothing less likely than such a comparison to wound my pride of personal character. The anger of its tone rescued the remark from intentional irony, which otherwise probably would have been its general acceptation. But, sir,

if it be imagined that by this mutual quotation and commendation; if it be supposed that, by casting the characters of the drama, assigning to each his part; to one the attack, to another the cry of onset; or if it be thought that by a loud and empty vaunt of anticipated victory any laurels are to be won here; if it be imagined, especially, that any or all these things will shake any purpose of mine, I can tell the honorable Member, once for all, that he is greatly mistaken, and that he is dealing with one of whose temper and character he has yet much to learn. Sir, I shall not allow myself on this occasion, I hope on no occasion, to be betrayed into any loss of temper; but if provoked, as I trust I never shall be, into crimination and recrimination, the honorable Member may perhaps find that, in that contest, there will be blows to take as well as blows to give; that others can state comparisons as significant, at least, as his own; and that his impunity may possibly demand of him whatever powers of taunt and sarcasm he may possess. I commend him to a prudent husbandry of his resources.

But, sir, the coalition! The coalition! Aye, "the murdered coalition"! The gentleman asks if I were led or frightened into this debate by the spectre of the coalition,—"Was it the ghost of the murdered coalition," he exclaims, "which haunted the Member from Massachusetts, and which, like the ghost of Banquo, would never down"? "The murdered coalition!" Sir, this charge of a coalition, in reference to the late administration, is not original with the honorable Member. It did not spring up in the Senate. Whether as a fact, as an argument, or as an embellishment, it is all borrowed. He adopts it, indeed, from a very low origin and a still lower present condition. It is one of the thousand calumnies with which the press teemed during an excited political canvass. It was a charge of which there was not only no proof or probability, but which was, in itself, wholly impossible to be true. No man of common information ever believed a syllable of it. Yet it was of that class of falsehoods, which, by continued repetition, through all the organs of detraction and abuse, are capable of misleading those who are already far misled, and of further fanning passion, already kindling into flame. Doubtless it served in its day, and in greater or less degree the end designed by it. Having done that, it has sunk into the general mass of stale and loathed calumnies. It is the very cast-off slough of a polluted and shameless press. Incapable of

further mischief, it lies in the sewer, lifeless and despised. It is not now, sir, in the power of the honorable Member to give it dignity or decency by attempting to elevate it, and to introduce it into the Senate. He cannot change it from what it is, an object of general disgust and scorn. On the contrary, the contact, if he choose to touch it, is more likely to drag him down, down, to the place where it lies itself.

But, sir, the honorable Member was not, for other reasons, entirely happy in his allusion to the story of Banquo's murder and Banquo's ghost. It was not, I think, the friends, but the enemies of the murdered Banquo, at whose bidding his spirit would not down. The honorable gentleman is fresh in his reading of the English classics, and can put me right if I am wrong; but, according to my poor recollection, it was at those who had begun with caresses, and ended with foul and treacherous murder, that the gory locks were shaken! The ghost of Banquo, like that of Hamlet, was an honest ghost. It disturbed no innocent man. It knew where its appearance would strike terror, and who would cry out, A ghost! It made itself visible in the right quarter, and compelled the guilty and the conscience-smitten, and none others, to start with—

> "Pr'ythee, see there! behold!—look! lo!*
> If I stand here, I saw him!"

Their eyeballs were seared (was it not so, sir?) who had thought to shield themselves by concealing their own hand and laying the imputation of the crime on a low and hireling agency in wickedness; who had vainly attempted to stifle the workings of their own coward consciences by ejaculating, through white lips and chattering teeth: "Thou canst not say I did it!" I have misread the great poet if those who had in no way partaken in the deed of the death either found that they were, or feared that they should be, pushed from their stools by the ghost of the slain, or exclaimed to a spectre created by their own fears and their own remorse: "Avaunt! and quit our sight!"

There is another particular, sir, in which the honorable Member's quick perception of resemblances might, I should think, have seen something in the story of Banquo, making it not altogether a subject of the most pleasant contemplation. Those who

*Mr. Webster quoted from memory. See Macbeth, Scene 4, Act 4.

murdered Banquo, what did they win by it? Substantial good? Permanent power? Or disappointment, rather, and sore mortification;—dust and ashes,—the common fate of vaulting ambition, overleaping itself? Did not even-handed justice ere long commend the poisoned chalice to their own lips? Did they not soon find that for another they had "filed their mind"? that their ambition, though apparently for the moment successful, had but put a barren sceptre in their grasp? Aye, sir,—

> "A barren sceptre in their gripe,
> Thence to be wrenched by an unlineal hand,
> No son of theirs succeeding."

Sir, I need pursue the allusion no further. I leave the honorable gentleman to run it out at his leisure, and to derive from it all the gratification it is calculated to administer. If he find himself pleased with the associations and prepared to be quite satisfied, though the parallel should be entirely completed, I had almost said, I am satisfied also,—but that I shall think of. Yes, sir, I will think of that.

In the course of my observations the other day, Mr. President, I paid a passing tribute of respect to a very worthy man, Mr. Dane, of Massachusetts. It so happened that he drew the Ordinance of 1787 for the government of the Northwestern Territory. A man of so much ability and so little pretense; of so great a capacity to do good and so unmixed a disposition to do it for its own sake; a gentleman who had acted an important part forty years ago, in a measure the influence of which is still deeply felt in the very matter which was the subject of debate, might, I thought, receive from me a commendatory recognition.

But the honorable Member was inclined to be facetious on the subject. He was rather disposed to make it matter of ridicule that I had introduced into the debate the name of one Nathan Dane, of whom he assures us he had never before heard. Sir, if the honorable Member had never before heard of Mr. Dane, I am sorry for it. It shows him less acquainted with the public men of the country than I had supposed. Let me tell him, however, that a sneer from him at the mention of the name of Mr. Dane is in bad taste. It may well be a high mark of ambition, sir, either with the honorable gentleman or myself, to accomplish as much to make our names known to advantage, and remembered with gratitude, as Mr. Dane has accomplished. But

the truth is, sir, I suspect that Mr. Dane lives a little too far north. He is of Massachusetts, and too near the north star to be reached by the honorable gentleman's telescope. If his sphere had happened to range south of Mason and Dixon's Line, he might, probably, have come within the scope of his vision!

I spoke, sir, of the Ordinance of 1787, which prohibited slavery in all future times, northwest of the Ohio, as a measure of great wisdom and foresight; and one which had been attended with highly beneficial and permanent consequences. I supposed that on this point no two gentlemen in the Senate could entertain different opinions. But the simple expression of this sentiment has led the gentleman, not only into a labored defense of slavery, in the abstract, and on principle, but, also, into a warm accusation against me, as having attacked the system of domestic slavery now existing in the Southern States. For all this there was not the slightest foundation in anything said or intimated by me. I did not utter a single word which any ingenuity could torture into an attack on the slavery of the South. I said only that it was highly wise and useful in legislating for the northwestern country, while it was yet a wilderness, to prohibit the introduction of slaves; and added that I presumed, in the neighboring State of Kentucky, there was no reflecting and intelligent gentleman who would doubt that if the same prohibition had been extended at the same early period over that Commonwealth, her strength and population would, at this day, have been far greater than they are. If these opinions be thought doubtful, they are, nevertheless, I trust, neither extraordinary nor disrespectful. They attack nobody and menace nobody. And yet, sir, the gentleman's optics have discovered, even in the mere expression of this sentiment, what he calls the very spirit of the Missouri question! He represents me as making an onset on the whole South, and manifesting a spirit which would interfere with and disturb their domestic condition! Sir, this injustice no otherwise surprises me than as it is committed here, and committed without the slightest pretense of ground for it. I say it only surprises me as being done here; for I know full well that it is, and has been, the settled policy of some persons in the South, for years, to represent the people of the North as disposed to interfere with them in their own exclusive and peculiar concerns. This is a delicate and sensitive point in Southern feeling: and of late years it has always been touched, and generally with effect, when-

ever the object has been to unite the whole South against Northern men or Northern measures. This feeling, always carefully kept alive, and maintained at too intense a heat to admit discrimination or reflection, is a lever of great power in our political machine. It moves vast bodies, and gives to them one and the same direction. But it is without all adequate cause; and the suspicion which exists wholly groundless. There is not, and never has been, a disposition in the North to interfere with these interests of the South. Such interference has never been supposed to be within the power of government; nor has it been in any way attempted. The slavery of the South has always been regarded as a matter of domestic policy, left with the States themselves, and with which the Federal Government had nothing to do. Certainly, sir, I am, and ever have been of that opinion. The gentleman, indeed, argues that slavery in the abstract is no evil. Most assuredly I need not say I differ with him, altogether and most widely, on that point. I regard domestic slavery as one of the greatest of evils, both moral and political. But though it be a malady, and whether it be curable, and if so, by what means; or, on the other hand, whether it be the *vulnus immedicabile* of the social system, I leave it to those whose right and duty it is to inquire and to decide. And this I believe, sir, is, and uniformly has been, the sentiment of the North. Let us look a little at the history of this matter.

When the present Constitution was submitted for the ratification of the people, there were those who imagined that the powers of the Government which it proposed to establish, might, perhaps, in some possible mode, be exerted in measures tending to the abolition of slavery. This suggestion would, of course, attract much attention in the Southern conventions. In that of Virginia, Governor Randolph said: —

"I hope there is none here, who, considering the subject in the calm light of philosophy, will make an objection dishonorable to Virginia — that at the moment they are securing the rights of their citizens, an objection is started that there is a spark of hope that those unfortunate men now held in bondage, may, by the operation of the General Government, be made free."

At the very first Congress, petitions on the subject were presented, if I mistake not, from different States. The Pennsylvania society for promoting the abolition of slavery took the lead, and

laid before Congress a memorial, praying Congress to promote the abolition by such powers as it possessed. This memorial was referred, in the House of Representatives, to a select committee, consisting of Mr. Foster of New Hampshire, Mr. Gerry of Massachusetts, Mr. Huntington of Connecticut, Mr. Lawrence of New York, Mr. Sinnickson of New Jersey, Mr. Hartley of Pennsylvania, and Mr. Parker of Virginia,— all of them, sir, as you will observe, Northern men, but the last. This committee made a report, which was committed to a committee of the whole house, and there considered and discussed on several days; and being amended, although without material alteration, it was made to express three distinct propositions, on the subject of slavery and the slave trade. First, in the words of the Constitution, that Congress could not, prior to the year 1808, prohibit the migration or importation of such persons as any of the States then existing should think proper to admit. Second, that Congress had authority to restrain the citizens of the United States from carrying on the African slave trade, for the purpose of supplying foreign countries. On this proposition, our early laws against those who engage in that traffic are founded. The third proposition, and that which bears on the present question, was expressed in the following terms:—

"*Resolved*, That Congress have no authority to interfere in the emancipation of slaves, or in the treatment of them in any of the States; it remaining with the several States alone to provide rules and regulations therein, which humanity and true policy may require."

This resolution received the sanction of the House of Representatives so early as March 1790. And now, sir, the honorable Member will allow me to remind him that not only were the select committee who reported the resolution, with a single exception, all Northern men, but also that of the Members then composing the House of Representatives, a large majority, I believe nearly two-thirds, were Northern men also.

The House agreed to insert these resolutions in its journal; and from that day to this, it has never been maintained or contended that Congress had any authority to regulate or interfere with the condition of slaves in the several States. No Northern gentleman, to my knowledge, has moved any such question in either house of Congress.

The fears of the South, whatever fears they might have entertained, were allayed and quieted by this early decision; and so remained, till they were excited afresh, without cause, but for collateral and indirect purposes. When it became necessary, or was thought so, by some political persons, to find an unvarying ground for the exclusion of Northern men from confidence and from the lead in the affairs of the Republic, then, and not till then, the cry was raised, and the feeling industriously excited, that the influence of Northern men in the public councils would endanger the relation of master and slave. For myself, I claim no other merit than that this gross and enormous injustice towards the whole North has not wrought upon me to change my opinions or my political conduct. I hope I am above violating my principles, even under the smart of injury and false imputations. Unjust suspicions and undeserved reproach, whatever pain I may experience from them, will not induce me, I trust, nevertheless, to overstep the limits of constitutional duty, or to encroach on the rights of others. The domestic slavery of the South I leave where I find it — in the hands of their own governments. It is their affair, not mine. Nor do I complain of the peculiar effect which the magnitude of that population has had in the distribution of power under this Federal Government. We know, sir, that the representation of the States in the other house is not equal. We know that great advantage in that respect is enjoyed by the slaveholding States; and we know, too, that the intended equivalent for that advantage, that is to say, the imposition of direct taxes in the same ratio, has become merely nominal; the habit of the Government being almost invariably to collect its revenue from other sources and in other modes. Nevertheless, I do not complain: nor would I countenance any movement to alter this arrangement of representation. It is the original bargain, the compact — let it stand; let the advantage of it be fully enjoyed. The Union itself is too full of benefit to be hazarded in propositions for changing its original basis. I go for the Constitution as it is, and for the Union as it is. But I am resolved not to submit in silence to accusations, either against myself, individually, or against the North, wholly unfounded and unjust; accusations which impute to us a disposition to evade the constitutional compact, and to extend the power of the Government over the internal laws and domestic condition of the States. All such accusations, wherever and whenever made, all insinuations of the

existence of any such purposes, I know and feel to be groundless and injurious. And we must confide in Southern gentlemen themselves; we must trust to those whose integrity of heart and magnanimity of feeling will lead them to a desire to maintain and disseminate truth, and who possess the means of its diffusion with the Southern public; we must leave it to them to disabuse that public of its prejudices. But, in the meantime, for my own part, I shall continue to act justly, whether those towards whom justice is exercised receive it with candor or with contumely.

Having had occasion to recur to the Ordinance of 1787, in order to defend myself against the inferences which the honorable Member has chosen to draw from my former observations on that subject, I am not willing now entirely to take leave of it without another remark. It need hardly be said that that paper expresses just sentiments on the great subject of civil and religious liberty. Such sentiments were common, and abound in all our State papers of that day. But this ordinance did that which was not so common, and which is not, even now, universal; that is, it set forth and declared, as a high and binding duty of government itself, to encourage schools, and advanced the means of education, on the plain reason that religion, morality, and knowledge, are necessary to good government and to the happiness of mankind. One observation further. The important provision incorporated into the Constitution of the United States and several of those of the States, and recently, as we have seen, adopted into the reformed constitution of Virginia, restraining legislative power in questions of private right, and from impairing the obligation of contracts, is first introduced and established, as far as I am informed, as matter of express written constitutional law, in this Ordinance of 1787. And I must add, also, in regard to the author of the ordinance, who has not had the happiness to attract the gentleman's notice, heretofore, nor to avoid his sarcasm now, that he was chairman of that select committee of the old Congress, whose report first expressed the strong sense of that body, that the old confederation was not adequate to the exigencies of the country, and recommending to the States to send delegates to the convention which formed the present Constitution.

An attempt has been made to transfer from the North to the South the honor of this exclusion of slavery from the Northwestern Territory. The journal, without argument or comment,

refutes such attempt. The cession by Virginia was made March 1784. On the nineteenth of April following, a committee, consisting of Messrs. Jefferson, Chase, and Howell, reported a plan for a temporary government of the Territory, in which was this article: "That, after the year 1800, there shall be neither slavery, nor involuntary servitude in any of the said States, otherwise than in punishment of crimes, whereof the party shall have been convicted." Mr. Spaight, of North Carolina, moved to strike out this paragraph. The question was put according to the form then practiced: "Shall these words stand as part of the plan," etc. New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania — seven States, voted in the affirmative. Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolinia in the negative. North Carolina was divided. As the consent of nine States was necessary, the words could not stand, and were struck out accordingly. Mr. Jefferson voted for the clause, but was overruled by his colleagues.

In March of the next year (1785), Mr. King, of Massachusetts, seconded by Mr. Ellery, of Rhode Island, proposed the formerly rejected article, with this addition: "And that this regulation shall be an article of compact, and remain a fundamental principle of the constitutions between the thirteen original States, and each of the States described in the resolve," etc. On this clause, which provided the adequate and thorough security, the eight Northern States of that time voted affirmatively, and the four Southern States negatively. The votes of nine States were not yet obtained, and thus the provision was again rejected by the Southern States. The perseverance of the North held out, and two years afterwards the object was attained. It is no derogation from the credit, whatever that may be, of drawing the ordinance, that its principles had before been prepared and discussed in the form of resolutions. If one should reason in that way, what would become of the distinguished honor of the author of the Declaration of Independence? There is not a sentiment in that paper which had not been voted and resolved in the assemblies and other popular bodies in the country over and over again.

But the honorable Member has now found out that this gentleman [Mr. Dane] was a member of the Hartford Convention. However uninformed the honorable Member may be of characters and occurrences at the North, it would seem that he has

at his elbow on this occasion some high-minded and lofty spirit, some magnanimous and true-hearted monitor, possessing the means of local knowledge, and ready to supply the honorable Member with everything down even to forgotten and moth-eaten two-penny pamphlets, which may be used to the disadvantage of his own country. But as to the Hartford Convention, sir, allow me to say that the proceedings of that body seem now to be less read and studied in New England than further South. They appear to be looked to, not in New England, but elsewhere, for the purpose of seeing how far they may serve as a precedent. But they will not answer the purpose — they are quite too tame. The latitude in which they originated was too cold. Other conventions of more recent existence have gone a whole bar's length beyond it. The learned doctors of Colleton and Abbeville have pushed their commentaries on the Hartford collect so far that the original text writers are thrown entirely into the shade. I have nothing to do, sir, with the Hartford Convention. Its journal, which the gentleman has quoted, I never read. So far as the honorable Member may discover in its proceedings a spirit in any degree resembling that which was avowed and justified in those other conventions to which I have alluded, or so far as those proceedings can be shown to be disloyal to the Constitution, or tending to disunion, so far I shall be as ready as any one to bestow on them reprehension and censure.

Having dwelt long on this convention, and other occurrences of that day, in the hope, probably (which will not be gratified), that I should leave the course of this debate to follow him, at length, in those excursions, the honorable Member returned and attempted another object. He referred to a speech of mine in the other house, the same which I had occasion to allude to myself the other day, and has quoted a passage or two from it with a bold, though uneasy and laboring air of confidence, as if he had detected in me an inconsistency. Judging from the gentleman's manner, a stranger to the course of the debate, and to the point in discussion, would have imagined from so triumphant a tone that the honorable Member was about to overwhelm me with a manifest contradiction. Any one who heard him, and who had not heard what I had, in fact, previously said, must have thought me routed and discomfited, as the gentleman had promised. Sir, a breath blows all this triumph away. There is not the slightest difference in the sentiments of my remarks on the

two occasions. What I said here on Wednesday is in exact accordance with the opinion expressed by me in the other house in 1825. Though the gentleman had the metaphysics of Hudibras, though he were able —

> "To sever and divide
> A hair 'twixt north and northwest side," —

he yet could not insert his metaphysical scissors between the fair reading of my remarks in 1825 and what I said here last week. There is not only no contradiction, no difference, but, in truth, too exact a similarity, both in thought and language, to be entirely in just taste. I had myself quoted the same speech, had recurred to it, and spoke with it open before me, and much of what I said was little more than a repetition from it. In order to make finishing work with this alleged contradiction, permit me to recur to the origin of this debate and review its course. This seems expedient and may be done as well now as at any time.

Well, then, its history is this: The honorable Member from Connecticut moved a resolution, which constitutes the first branch of that which is now before us; that is to say, a resolution instructing the committee on public lands to inquire into the expediency of limiting, for a certain period, the sales of the public lands, to such as have heretofore been offered for sale; and whether sundry offices connected with the sales of the lands might not be abolished without detriment to the public service.

In the progress of the discussion which arose on this resolution, an honorable Member from New Hampshire moved to amend the resolution so as entirely to reverse its object; that is to strike it all out and insert a direction to the committee to inquire into the expediency of adopting measures to hasten the sales and extend more rapidly the surveys of the lands.

The honorable Member from Maine, Mr. Sprague, suggested that both those propositions might well enough go for consideration to the committee; and in this state of the question, the Member from South Carolina addressed the Senate in his first speech. He rose, he said, to give us his own free thoughts on the public lands. I saw him rise with pleasure and listened with expectation, though before he concluded I was filled with surprise. Certainly, I was never more surprised than to find him following up, to the extent he did, the sentiments and opinions

which the gentleman from Missouri had put forth, and which it is known he has long entertained.

I need not repeat at large the general topics of the honorable gentleman's speech. When he said yesterday that he did not attack the Eastern States, he certainly must have forgotten, not only particular remarks, but the whole drift and tenor of his speech; unless he means by not attacking, that he did not commence hostilities,— but that another had preceded him in the attack. He, in the first place, disapproved of the whole course of the Government, for forty years, in regard to its dispositions of the public land; and then turning northward and eastward, and fancying he had found a cause for alleged narrowness and niggardliness in the "accursed policy" of the tariff, to which he represented the people of New England as wedded, he went on for a full hour with remarks, the whole scope of which was to exhibit the results of this policy, in feelings and in measures unfavorable to the West. I thought his opinions unfounded and erroneous as to the general course of the Government, and ventured to reply to them.

The gentleman had remarked on the analogy of other cases, and quoted the conduct of European governments towards their own subjects, settling on this continent, as in point to show that we had been harsh and rigid in selling, when we should have given the public lands to settlers without price. I thought the honorable Member had suffered his judgment to be betrayed by a false analogy; that he was struck with an appearance of resemblance where there was no real similitude. I think so still. The first settlers of North America were enterprising spirits, engaged in private adventure or fleeing from tyranny at home. When arrived here they were forgotten by the mother country, or remembered only to be oppressed. Carried away again by the appearance of analogy, or struck with the eloquence of the passage, the honorable Member yesterday observed that the conduct of Government towards the Western emigrants, or my representation of it, brought to his mind a celebrated speech in the British Parliament. It was, sir, the speech of Colonel Barre. On the question of the Stamp Act, or tea tax, I forget which, Colonel Barre had heard a member on the treasury bench argue that the people of the United States, being British colonists, planted by the maternal care, nourished by the indulgence, and protected by the arms of England, would not grudge their mite to relieve the

mother country from the heavy burden under which she groaned. The language of Colonel Barre, in reply to this, was: They planted by your care? Your oppression planted them in America. They fled from your tyranny, and grew by your neglect of them. So soon as you began to care for them, you showed your care by sending persons to spy out their liberties, misrepresent their character, prey upon them and eat out their substance.

And how does the honorable gentleman mean to maintain that language like this is applicable to the conduct of the Government of the United States towards the Western emigrants, or to any representation given by me of that conduct? Were the settlers in the West driven thither by our oppression? Have they flourished only by our neglect of them? Has the Government done nothing but to prey upon them and eat out their substance? Sir, this fervid eloquence of the British speaker, just when and where it was uttered, and fit to remain an exercise for the schools, is not a little out of place when it is brought thence to be applied here to the conduct of our own country towards her own citizens. From America to England, it may be true; from Americans to their own Government it would be strange language. Let us leave it to be recited and declaimed by our boys against a foreign nation; not introduce it here, to recite and declaim ourselves against our own.

But I come to the point of the alleged contradiction. In my remarks on Wednesday I contended that we could not give away gratuitously all the public lands; that we held them in trust; that the Government had solemnly pledged itself to dispose of them as a common fund for the common benefit, and to sell and settle them as its discretion should dictate. Now, sir, what contradiction does the gentleman find to this sentiment, in the speech of 1825? He quotes me as having then said that we ought not to hug these lands as a very great treasure. Very well, sir, supposing me to be accurately reported in that expression, what is the contradiction? I have not now said that we should hug these lands as a favorite source of pecuniary income. No such thing. It is not my view. What I have said, and what I do say, is that they are a common fund — to be disposed of for the common benefit — to be sold at low prices for the accommodation of settlers, keeping the object of settling the lands as much in view as that of raising money from them. This I say now, and this I have always said. Is this hugging them as a favorite

treasure? Is there no difference between hugging and hoarding this fund, on the one hand, as a great treasure, and, on the other, of disposing of it at low prices, placing the proceeds in the general treasury of the Union? My opinion is that as much is to be made of the land as fairly and reasonably may be, selling it all the while at such rates as to give the fullest effect to settlement. This is not giving it all away to the States, as the gentleman would propose; nor is it hugging the fund closely and tenaciously, as a favorite treasure; but it is, in my judgment, a just and wise policy, perfectly according with all the various duties which rest on government. So much for my contradiction. And what is it? Where is the ground for the gentleman's triumph? What inconsistency in word or doctrine has he been able to detect? Sir, if this be a sample of that discomfiture, with which the honorable gentleman threatened me, commend me to the word discomfiture for the rest of my life.

But, after all, this is not the point of the debate, and I must now bring the gentleman back to what is the point.

The real question between me and him is: Has the doctrine been advanced at the South or the East, that the population of the West should be retarded, or at least need not be hastened, on account of its effect to drain off the people from the Atlantic States? Is this doctrine, as has been alleged, of Eastern origin? That is the question. Has the gentleman found anything by which he can make good his accusation? I submit to the Senate, that he has entirely failed; and as far as this debate has shown, the only person who has advanced such sentiments is a gentleman from South Carolina, and a friend to the honorable Member himself. The honorable gentleman has given no answer to this; there is none which can be given. The simple fact, while it requires no comment to enforce it, defies all argument to refute it. I could refer to the speeches of another Southern gentleman, in years before, of the same general character, and to the same effect, as that which has been quoted; but I will not consume the time of the Senate by the reading of them.

So then, sir, New England is guiltless of the policy of retarding Western population, and of all envy and jealousy of the growth of the new States. Whatever there be of that policy in the country, no part of it is her's. If it has a local habitation, the honorable Member has probably seen, by this time, where to look for it; and if it now has received a name, he has himself christened it.

We approach, at length, sir, to a more important part of the honorable gentleman's observations. Since it does not accord with my views of justice and policy to give away the public lands altogether, as mere matter of gratuity, I am asked by the honorable gentleman on what ground it is that I consent to vote them away in particular instances? How, he inquires, do I reconcile with these professed sentiments my support of measures appropriating portions of the lands to particular roads, particular canals, particular rivers, and particular institutions of education in the west? This leads, sir, to the real and wide difference, in political opinion, between the honorable gentleman and myself. On my part, I look upon all these objects as connected with the common good, fairly embraced in its object and its terms; he, on the contrary, deems them all, if good at all, only local good. This is our difference. The interrogatory which he proceeded to put, at once explains this difference. «What interest,» asks he, «has South Carolina in a canal in Ohio?» Sir, this very question is full of significance. It develops the gentleman's whole political system; and its answer expounds mine. Here we differ. I look upon a road over the Alleghany, a canal round the falls of the Ohio, or a canal or railway from the Atlantic to the Western waters, as being an object large and extensive enough to be fairly said to be for the common benefit. The gentleman thinks otherwise, and this is the key to open his construction of the powers of the Government. He may well ask: What interest has South Carolina in a canal in Ohio? On his system, it is true, she has no interest. On that system, Ohio and Carolina are different governments and different countries: connected here, it is true, by some slight and ill-defined bond of union, but, in all main respects, separate and diverse. On that system, Carolina has no more interest in a canal in Ohio than in Mexico. The gentleman, therefore, only follows out his own principles; he does no more than arrive at the natural conclusions of his own doctrines; he only announces the true results of that creed, which he has adopted himself, and would persuade others to adopt, when he thus declares that South Carolina has no interest in a public work in Ohio. Sir, we narrow-minded people of New England do not reason thus. Our notion of things is entirely different. We look upon the States, not as separated, but as united. We love to dwell on that union, and on the mutual happiness which it has so much promoted, and the common renown

which it has so greatly contributed to acquire. In our contemplation, Carolina and Ohio are parts of the same country; States, united under the same General Government, having interests, common, associated, intermingled. In whatever is within the proper sphere of the constitutional power of this Government, we look upon the States as one. We do not impose geographical limits to our patriotic feeling or regard; we do not follow rivers and mountains, and lines of latitude, to find boundaries beyond which public improvements do not benefit us. We who come here as agents and representatives of these narrow-minded and selfish men of New England consider ourselves as bound to regard, with an equal eye, the good of the whole, in whatever is within our power of legislation. Sir, if a railroad or canal, beginning in South Carolina and ending in South Carolina, appeared to me to be of national importance and national magnitude, believing, as I do, that the power of Government extends to the encouragement of works of that description, if I were to stand up here, and ask: What interest has Massachusetts in a railroad in South Carolina? I should not be willing to face my constituents. These same narrow-minded men would tell me that they had sent me to act for the whole country, and that one who possessed too little comprehension, either of intellect or feeling; one who was not large enough, both in mind and in heart, to embrace the whole, was not fit to be intrusted with the interest of any part. Sir, I do not desire to enlarge the powers of the Government, by unjustifiable construction; nor to exercise any not within a fair interpretation. But when it is believed that a power does exist, then it is, in my judgment, to be exercised for the general benefit of the whole. So far as respects the exercise of such a power, the States are one. It was the very object of the Constitution to create unity of interests to the extent of the powers of the General Government. In war and peace we are one; in commerce, one; because the authority of the General Government reaches to war and peace, and to the regulation of commerce. I have never seen any more difficulty in erecting lighthouses on the lakes than on the ocean; in improving the harbors of inland seas than if they were within the ebb and flow of the tide; or of removing obstructions in the vast streams of the west more than in any work to facilitate commerce on the Atlantic coast. If there be any power for one, there is power also for the other; and they are all and equally for the common good of the country.

There are other objects apparently more local, or the benefit of which is less general, towards which, nevertheless, I have concurred with others, to give aid, by donations of land. It is proposed to construct a road, in or through one of the new States, in which this Government possesses large quantities of land. Have the United States no right, or, as a great and untaxed proprietor, are they under no obligation to contribute to an object thus calculated to promote the common good of all the proprietors, themselves included? And even with respect to education, which is the extreme case, let the question be considered. In the first place, as we have seen, it was made matter of compact with these States, that they should do their part to promote education. In the next place, our whole system of land laws proceeds on the idea that education is for the common good; because, in every division, a certain portion is uniformly reserved and appropriated for the use of schools. And, finally, have not these new States singularly strong claims, founded on the ground already stated, that the Government is a great untaxed proprietor, in the ownership of the soil? It is a consideration of great importance, that, probably, there is in no part of the country, or of the world, so great call for the means of education as in those new States,—owing to the vast numbers of persons within those ages in which education and instruction are usually received, if received at all. This is the natural consequence of recency of settlement and rapid increase. The census of these States shows how great a proportion of the whole population occupies the classes between infancy and manhood. These are the wide fields, and here is the deep and quick soil for the seeds of knowledge and virtue; and this is the favored season, the very springtime for sowing them. Let them be disseminated without stint. Let them be scattered with a bountiful broadcast. Whatever the Government can fairly do towards these objects, in my opinion, ought to be done.

These, sir, are the grounds succinctly stated on which my votes for grants of lands for particular objects rest; while I maintain, at the same time, that it is all a common fund for the common benefit. And reasons like these, I presume, have influenced the votes of other gentlemen from New England! Those who have a different view of the powers of the Government, of course, come to different conclusions on these as on other questions. I observed, when speaking on this subject before, that, if we looked

to any measure, whether for a road, a canal, or anything else, intended for the improvement of the West, it would be found that, if the New England ayes were struck out of the lists of votes, the Southern noes would always have rejected the measure. The truth of this has not been denied and cannot be denied. In stating this, I thought it just to ascribe it to the constitutional scruples of the South rather than to any other less favorable or less charitable cause. But no sooner had I done this, than the honorable gentleman asks if I reproach him and his friends with their constitutional scruples. Sir, I reproach nobody. I stated a fact and gave the most respectful reason for it that occurred to me. The gentleman cannot deny the fact; he may, if he choose, disclaim the reason. It is not long since I had occasion, in presenting a petition from his own State, to account for its being intrusted to my hands, by saying that the constitutional opinions of the gentleman and his worthy colleague prevented them from supporting it. Sir, did I state this as a matter of reproach? Far from it. Did I attempt to find any other cause than an honest one for these scruples? Sir, I did not. It did not become me to doubt or to insinuate that the gentleman had either changed his sentiments or that he had made up a set of constitutional opinions, accommodated to any particular combination of political occurrences. Had I done so, I should have felt that while I was entitled to little credit in thus questioning other people's motives, I justified the whole world in suspecting my own. But how has the gentleman returned this respect for others' opinions? His own candor and justice, how have they been exhibited towards the motives of others, while he has been at so much pains to maintain, what nobody has disputed, the purity of his own? Why, sir, he has asked when, and how, and why, New England votes were found going for measures favorable to the West? He has demanded to be informed whether all this did begin in 1825, and while the election of President was still pending? Sir, to these questions retort would be justified; and it is both cogent, and at hand. Nevertheless, I will answer the inquiry, not by retort, but by facts. I will tell the gentleman when, and how, and why, New England has supported measures favorable to the West. I have already referred to the early history of the Government — to the first acquisition of the lands — to the original laws for disposing of them, and for governing the Territories where they lie; and have shown the influence of New

England men and New England principles in all these leading measures. I should not be pardoned were I to go over that ground again. Coming to more recent times, and to measures of a less general character, I have endeavored to prove that everything of this kind, designed for Western improvement, has depended on the votes of New England; all this is true beyond the power of contradiction.

And now, sir, there are two measures to which I will refer, not so ancient as to belong to the early history of the public lands, and not so recent as to be on this side of the period when the gentleman charitably imagines a new direction may have been given to New England feeling and New England votes. These measures, and the New England votes in support of them, may be taken as samples and specimens of all the rest.

In 1820 (observe, Mr. President, in 1820), the people of the West besought Congress for a reduction in the price of lands. In favor of that reduction, New England, with a delegation of forty Members in the other house, gave thirty-three votes, and one only against it. The four Southern States, with fifty Members, gave thirty-two votes for it and seven against it. Again, in 1821 (observe again, sir, the time), the law passed for the relief of the purchasers of the public lands. This was a measure of vital importance to the West, and more especially to the Southwest. It authorized the relinquishment of contracts for lands, which had been entered into at high prices, and a reduction in other cases of not less than thirty-seven and one-half per cent. on the purchase money. Many millions of dollars — six or seven, I believe, at least, probably much more — were relinquished by this law. On this bill, New England, with her forty Members, gave more affirmative votes than the four Southern States, with their fifty-two or three Members.

These two are far the most important general measures respecting the public lands, which have been adopted within the last twenty years. They took place in 1820 and 1821. That is the time "when." As to the manner "how," the gentleman already sees that it was by voting, in solid column, for the required relief: and lastly, as to the cause "why," I tell the gentleman, it was because the Members from New England thought the measures just and salutary; because they entertained towards the West neither envy, hatred, nor malice; because they deemed it becoming them, as just and enlightened public men, to meet

the exigency which had arisen in the West, with the appropriate measure of relief; because they felt it due to their own characters, and the characters of their New England predecessors in this Government, to act towards the new States in the spirit of a liberal, patronizing, magnanimous policy. So much, sir, for the cause "why"; and I hope that by this time, sir, the honorable gentleman is satisfied; if not, I do not know "when," or "how," or "why," he ever will be.

Having recurred to these two important measures, in answer to the gentleman's inquiries, I must now beg permission to go back to a period yet something earlier, for the purpose of still further showing how much, or rather how little, reason there is for the gentleman's insinuation that political hopes or fears, or party associations, were the grounds of these New England votes. And after what has been said, I hope it may be forgiven me, if I allude to some political opinions and votes of my own, of very little public importance, certainly, but which, from the time at which they were given and expressed, may pass for good witnesses on this occasion.

This Government, Mr. President, from its origin to the peace of 1815, had been too much engrossed with various other important concerns to be able to turn its thoughts inward, and look to the development of its vast internal resources. In the early part of President Washington's administration, it was fully occupied with completing its own organization, providing for the public debt, defending the frontiers, and maintaining domestic peace. Before the termination of that administration, the fires of the French Revolution blazed forth, as from a new-opened volcano, and the whole breadth of the ocean did not secure us from its effects. The smoke and the cinders reached us, though not the burning lava. Difficult and agitating questions, embarrassing to Government, and dividing public opinion, sprung out of the new state of our foreign relations, and were succeeded by others, and yet again by others, equally embarrassing, and equally exciting division and discord, through the long series of twenty years, till they finally issued in the war with England. Down to the close of that war, no distinct, marked, and deliberate attention had been given, or could have been given, to the internal condition of the country, its capacities of improvement, or the constitutional power of the Government, in regard to objects connected with such improvement.

The peace, Mr. President, brought about an entirely new and a most interesting state of things; it opened to us other prospects, and suggested other duties. We ourselves were changed, and the whole world was changed. The pacification of Europe, after June 1815, assumed a firm and permanent aspect. The nations evidently manifested that they were disposed for peace. Some agitation of the waves might be expected, even after the storm had subsided, but the tendency was, strongly and rapidly, towards settled repose.

It so happened, sir, that I was, at that time, a Member of Congress, and, like others, naturally turned my attention to the contemplation of the newly-altered condition of the country and of the world. It appeared plainly enough to me, as well as to wiser and more experienced men, that the policy of the Government would naturally take a start in a new direction, because new directions would necessarily be given to the pursuits and occupations of the people. We had pushed our commerce far and fast, under the advantage of a neutral flag. But there were now no longer flags, either neutral or belligerent. The harvest of neutrality had been great, but we had gathered it all. With the peace of Europe, it was obvious there would spring up in her circle of nations, a revived and invigorated spirit of trade, and a new activity in all the business and objects of civilized life. Hereafter, our commercial gains were to be earned only by success, in a close and intense competition. Other nations would produce for themselves, and carry for themselves, and manufacture for themselves, to the full extent of their abilities. The crops of our plains would no longer sustain European armies, nor our ships longer supply those whom war had rendered unable to supply themselves. It was obvious that, under these circumstances, the country would begin to survey itself and to estimate its own capacity of improvement. And this improvement — how was it to be accomplished, and who was to accomplish it? We were ten or twelve millions of people, spread over almost half a world. We were more than twenty States, some stretching along the same seaboard, some along the same line of inland frontier, and others on opposite banks of the same vast rivers. Two considerations at once presented themselves, in looking at this state of things, with great force. One was that that great branch of improvement, which consisted in furnishing new facilities of intercourse, necessarily ran into different States, in

every leading instance, and would benefit the citizens of all such States. No one State, therefore, in such cases, would assume the whole expense, nor was the co-operation of several States to be expected. Take the instance of the Delaware breakwater. It will cost several millions of money. Would Pennsylvania alone ever have constructed it? Certainly never, while this Union lasts, because it is not for her sole benefit. Would Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Delaware have united to accomplish it, at their joint expense? Certainly not, for the same reason. It could not be done, therefore, but by the General Government. The same may be said of the large inland undertakings, except that, in them, Government, instead of bearing the whole expense, co-operates with others who bear a part. The other consideration is, that the United States have the means. They enjoy the revenues derived from commerce, and the States have no abundant and easy sources of public income. The customhouses fill the general treasury, while the States have scanty resources, except by resort to heavy direct taxes.

Under this view of things I thought it necessary to settle, at least for myself, some definite notions with respect to the powers of the Government in regard to internal affairs. It may not savor too much of self-commendation to remark that with this object I considered the Constitution, its judicial construction, its cotemporaneous exposition, and the whole history of the legislation of Congress under it; and I arrived at the conclusion that Government had power to accomplish sundry objects, or aid in their accomplishment, which are now commonly spoken of as internal improvements. That conclusion, sir, may have been right, or it may have been wrong. I am not about to argue the grounds of it at large. I say only that it was adopted and acted on even so early as in 1816. Yes, Mr. President, I made up my opinion, and determined on my intended course of political conduct on these subjects in the fourteenth Congress in 1816. And now, Mr. President, I have further to say that I made up these opinions, and entered on this course of political conduct *Teucro duce*. Yes, sir, I pursued in all this a South Carolina track, on the doctrines of internal improvement. South Carolina, as she was then represented in the other house, set forth, in 1816, under a fresh and leading breeze, and I was among the followers. But if my leader sees new lights, and turns a sharp corner, unless I see new lights also, I keep straight on in the same path.

I repeat that leading gentlemen from South Carolina were first and foremost in behalf of the doctrines of internal improvements, when those doctrines came first to be considered and acted upon in Congress. The debate on the bank question, on the tariff of 1816, and on the direct tax, will show who was who, and what was what at that time. The tariff of 1816, one of the plain cases of oppression and usurpation, from which, if the Government does not recede, individual States may justly secede from the Government, is, sir, in truth, a South Carolina tariff, supported by South Carolina votes. But for those votes it could not have passed in the form in which it did pass; whereas, if it had depended on Massachusetts votes, it would have been lost. Does not the honorable gentleman well know all this? There are certainly those who do, full well, know it all. I do not say this to reproach South Carolina. I only state the fact; and I think it will appear to be true, that among the earliest and boldest advocates of the tariff, as a measure of protection, and on the express ground of protection, were leading gentlemen of South Carolina in Congress. I did not then, and cannot now, understand their language in any other sense. While this tariff of 1816 was under discussion in the House of Representatives, an honorable gentleman from Georgia, now of this House, Mr. Forsyth, moved to reduce the proposed duty on cotton. He failed by four votes, South Carolina giving three votes (enough to have turned the scale) against his motion. The act, sir, then passed, and received on its passage the support of a majority of the Representatives of South Carolina present and voting. This act is the first, in the order of those now denounced as plain usurpations. We see it daily, in the list by the side of those of 1824 and 1828, as a case of manifest oppression, justifying disunion. I put it home to the honorable Member from South Carolina that his own State was not only "art and part" in this measure, but the *causa causans*. Without her aid this seminal principle of mischief, this root of the Upas, could not have been planted. I have already said, and it is true, that this act proceeded on the ground of protection. It interfered directly with existing interests of great value and amount. It cut up the Calcutta cotton trade by the roots, but it passed, nevertheless, and it passed on the principle of protecting manufactures, on the principle against free trade, on the principle opposed to that which lets us alone.

Such, Mr. President, were the opinions of important and leading gentlemen from South Carolina, on the subject of internal improvements in 1816. I went out of Congress the next year; and returning again in 1823, thought I found South Carolina where I had left her. I really supposed that all things remained as they were, and that the South Carolina doctrine of internal improvements would be defended by the same eloquent voices and the same strong arms as formerly. In the lapse of these six years, it is true, political associations had assumed a new aspect and new divisions. A party has arisen in the South hostile to the doctrine of internal improvements, and had vigorously attacked that doctrine. Anti-consolidation was the flag under which this party fought; and its supporters inveighed against internal improvements much after the manner in which the honorable gentleman has now inveighed against them, as part and parcel of the system of consolidation. Whether this party arose in South Carolina herself, or in her neighborhood, is more than I know. I think the latter. However that may have been, there were those found in South Carolina ready to make war upon it, and who did make intrepid war upon it. Names being regarded as things, in such controversies, they bestowed on the anti-improvement gentlemen the appellation of Radicals. Yes, sir, the appellation of Radicals, as a term of distinction, applicable and applied to those who denied the liberal doctrines of internal improvements, originated, according to the best of my recollection, somewhere between North Carolina and Georgia. Well, sir, these mischievous Radicals were to be put down, and the strong arm of South Carolina was stretched out to put them down. About this time, sir, I returned to Congress. The battle with the Radicals had been fought, and our South Carolina champions of the doctrines of internal improvement had nobly maintained their ground and were understood to have achieved a victory. We looked upon them as conquerors. They had driven back the enemy with discomfiture,—a thing, by the way, sir, which is not always performed when it is promised. A gentleman, to whom I have already referred in this debate, had come into Congress during my absence from it, from South Carolina, and had brought with him a high reputation for ability. He came from a school with which we had been acquainted *et noscitur a sociis*. I hold in my hand, sir, a printed speech of this distinguished gentleman

[Mr. McDuffie], "on internal improvements," delivered about the period to which I now refer, and printed with a few introductory remarks upon consolidation; in which, sir, I think he quite consolidated the arguments of his opponents, the Radicals, if to crush be to consolidate. I give you a short, but substantive quotation from these remarks. He is speaking of a pamphlet, then recently published, entitled "Consolidation"; and having alluded to the question of renewing the charter of the former Bank of the United States, he says:—

"Moreover in the early history of parties, and when Mr. Crawford advocated a renewal of the old charter, it was considered a Federal measure; which internal improvements never was, as this author erroneously states. This latter measure originated in the administration of Mr. Jefferson, with the appropriation for the Cumberland road; and was first proposed, as a system, by Mr. Calhoun, and carried through the House of Representatives by a large majority of the Republicans, including almost every one of the leading men who carried us through the late war."

So, then, internal improvement is not one of the Federal heresies. One paragraph more, sir:—

"The author in question, not content with denouncing as Federalists, General Jackson, Mr. Adams, Mr. Calhoun, and the majority of the South Carolina delegation in Congress, modestly extends the denunciation to Mr. Monroe and the whole Republican party. Here are his words: 'During the administration of Mr. Monroe much has passed which the Republican party would be glad to approve if they could. But the principal feature, and that which has chiefly elicited these observations, is the renewal of the system of internal improvements.' Now this measure was adopted by a vote of one hundred and fifteen to eighty-six, of a Republican Congress, and sanctioned by a Republican President. Who, then, is this author — who assumes the high prerogative of denouncing, in the name of the Republican party, the Republican administration of the country? A denunciation including within its sweep, Calhoun, Lowndes, and Cheves,— men who will be regarded as the brightest ornaments of South Carolina, and the strongest pillars of the Republican party, as long as the late war shall be remembered, and talents and patriotism shall be regarded as the proper objects of the admiration and gratitude of a free people."

Such are the opinions, sir, which were maintained by South Carolina gentlemen, in the House of Representatives, on the subject of internal improvements, when I took my seat there as a

Member from Massachusetts in 1823. But this is not all. We had a bill before us, and passed it in that house, entitled: "An act to procure the necessary surveys, plans, and estimates upon the subject of roads and canals." It authorized the President to cause surveys and estimates to be made of the routes of such roads and canals as he might deem of national importance, in a commercial or military point of view, or for the transportation of the mail, and appropriated thirty thousand dollars out of the Treasury to defray the expense. This act, though preliminary in its nature, covered the whole ground. It took for granted the complete power of internal improvement as far as any of its advocates had ever contended for it. Having passed the other house, the bill came up to the Senate, and was here considered and debated in April 1824. The honorable Member from South Carolina was a member of the Senate at that time. While the bill was under consideration here, a motion was made to add the following proviso: —

"*Provided*, That nothing herein contained shall be construed to affirm or admit a power in Congress, on their own authority, to make roads or canals within any of the States of the Union."

The yeas and nays were taken on this proviso and the honorable Member voted in the negative! The proviso failed.

A motion was then made to add this proviso, namely: —

"*Provided*, That the faith of the United States is hereby pledged, that no money shall ever be expended for roads or canals, except it shall be among the several States and in the same proportion as direct taxes are laid and assessed by the provisions of the Constitution."

The honorable Member voted against this proviso, also, and it failed. The bill was then put on its passage and the honorable Member voted for it, and it passed and became a law.

Now, it strikes me, sir, that there is no maintaining these votes, but upon the power of internal improvement, in its broadest sense. In truth, these bills for surveys and estimates have always been considered as test questions — they show who is for and who against internal improvement. This law itself went the whole length and assumed the full and complete power. The gentleman's votes sustained that power in every form in which the various propositions to amend presented it. He went for the

entire and unrestrained authority without consulting the States, and without agreeing to any proportionate distribution. And now suffer me to remind you, Mr. President, that it is this very same power thus sanctioned in every form by the gentleman's own opinion that is so plain and manifest a usurpation that the State of South Carolina is supposed to be justified in refusing submission to any laws carrying the power into effect. Truly, sir, is not this a little too hard? May we not crave some mercy under favor and protection of the gentleman's own authority? Admitting that a road, or a canal, must be written down flat usurpation as was ever committed, may we find no mitigation in our respect for his place and his vote as one that knows the law?

The tariff, which South Carolina had an efficient hand in establishing, in 1816, and this asserted power of internal improvement, advanced by her in the same year, and, as we have seen, approved and sanctioned by her representatives in 1824, these two measures are the great grounds on which she is now thought to be justified in breaking up the Union, if she sees fit to break it up!

I may now safely say, I think, that we have had the authority of leading and distinguished gentlemen from South Carolina, in support of the doctrine of internal improvement. I repeat that, up to 1824, I for one, followed South Carolina; but, when that star, in its ascension, veered off, in an unexpected direction, I relied on its light no longer.

[Here the Vice-President, Mr. Calhoun, said: «Does the chair understand the gentleman from Massachusetts to say that the person now occupying the chair of the Senate has changed his opinions on the subject of internal improvements?»]

From nothing ever said to me, sir, have I had reason to know of any change in the opinions of the person filling the chair of the Senate. If such change has taken place, I regret it. I speak generally of the State of South Carolina. Individuals, we know there are, who hold opinions favorable to the power. An application for its exercise, in behalf of a public work in South Carolina itself, is now pending, I believe, in the other house, presented by Members from that State.

I have thus, sir, perhaps, not without some tediousness of detail, shown that if I am in error, on the subject of internal

improvement, how, and in what company, I fell into that error. If I am wrong, it is apparent who misled me.

I go to other remarks of the honorable Member; and I have to complain of an entire misapprehension of what I said on the subject of the national debt, though I can hardly perceive how any one could misunderstand me. What I said was, not that I wished to put off the payment of the debt, but, on the contrary, that I had always voted for every measure for its reduction, as uniformly as the gentleman himself. He seems to claim the exclusive merit of a disposition to reduce the public charge. I do not allow it to him. As a debt, I was, I am for paying it, because it is a charge on our finances and on the industry of the country. But I observed that I thought I perceived a morbid fervor on that subject — an excessive anxiety to pay off the debt, not so much because it is a debt simply, as because, while it lasts, it furnishes one objection to disunion. It is a tie of common interest, while it continues. I did not impute such motives to the honorable Member himself; but that there is such a feeling in existence, I have not a particle of doubt. The most I said was that if one effect of the debt was to strengthen our Union, that effect itself was not regretted by me, however much others might regret it. The gentleman has not seen how to reply to this otherwise than by supposing me to have advanced the doctrine that a national debt is a national blessing. Others, I must hope, will find much less difficulty in understanding me. I distinctly and pointedly cautioned the honorable Member not to understand me as expressing an opinion favorable to the continuance of the debt. I repeated this caution, and repeated it more than once; but it was thrown away.

On yet another point, I was still more unaccountably misunderstood. The gentleman had harangued against "consolidation." I told him, in reply, that there was one kind of consolidation to which I was attached, and that was the consolidation of our Union; and that this was precisely that consolidation to which I feared others were not attached. That such consolidation was the very end of the Constitution — the leading object, as they had informed us themselves, which its framers had kept in view. I turned to their communication, and read their very words — "the consolidation of the Union" — and expressed my devotion to this sort of consolidation. I said in terms, that I wished not, in the slightest degree, to augment the powers of this Government; that

my object was to preserve, not to enlarge; and that by consolidating the Union, I understood no more than the strengthening of the Union, and perpetuating it. Having been thus explicit; having thus read from the printed book the precise words which I adopted, as expressing my own sentiments, it passes comprehension how any man could understand me as contending for an extension of the powers of the Government, or for consolidation, in that odious sense in which it means an accumulation, in the Federal Government, of the powers properly belonging to the States.

I repeat, sir, that in adopting the sentiment of the framers of the Constitution, I read their language audibly, and word for word; and I pointed out the distinction just as fully as I have now done, between the consolidation of the Union and that other obnoxious consolidation which I disclaimed. And yet the honorable Member misunderstood me. The gentleman had said that he wished for no fixed revenue — not a shilling. If, by a word, he could convert the capitol into gold, he would not do it. Why all this fear of revenue? Why, sir, because, as the gentleman told us, it tends to consolidation. Now, this can mean neither more nor less than that a common revenue is a common interest, and that all common interests tend to hold the union of the States together. I confess I like that tendency; if the gentleman dislikes it, he is right in deprecating a shilling's fixed revenue. So much, sir, for consolidation.

As well as I recollect the course of his remarks, the honorable gentleman next recurred to the subject of the tariff. He did not doubt the word must be of unpleasant sound to me, and proceeded with an effort, neither new, nor attended with new success, to involve me and my votes in inconsistency and contradiction. I am happy the honorable gentleman has furnished me an opportunity for a timely remark or two on that subject. I was glad he approached it, for it is a question I enter upon without fear from anybody. The strenuous toil of the gentleman has been to raise an inconsistency between my dissent to the tariff in 1824 and my vote in 1828. It is labor lost. He pays undeserved compliment to my speech in 1824; but this is to raise me high, that my fall, as he would have it, in 1828, may be more signal. Sir, there was no fall at all. Between the ground I stood on in 1824, and that I took in 1828, there was not only no precipice, but no declivity. It was a change of position, to meet new circum-

stances, but on the same level. A plain tale explains the whole matter. In 1816, I had not acquiesced in the tariff, then supported by South Carolina. To some parts of it, especially, I felt and expressed great repugnance. I held the same opinions in 1821, at the meeting in Faneuil Hall, to which the gentleman has alluded. I said then, and say now, that, as an original question, the authority of Congress to exercise the revenue power, with direct reference to the protection of manufactures, is a questionable authority, far more questionable, in my judgment, than the power of internal improvements. I must confess, sir, that, in one respect, some impression has been made on my opinions lately. Mr. Madison's publication has put the power in a very strong light. He has placed it, I must acknowledge, upon grounds of construction and argument, which seem impregnable. But even if the power were doubtful, on the face of the Constitution itself, it had been assumed and asserted in the first revenue law ever passed under that same Constitution; and, on this ground, as a matter settled by cotemporaneous practice, I had refrained from expressing the opinion that the tariff laws transcended constitutional limits, as the gentleman supposes. What I did say at Faneuil Hall, as far as I now remember, was that this was originally matter of doubtful construction. The gentleman himself, I suppose, thinks there is no doubt about it and that the laws are plainly against the Constitution. Mr. Madison's letters, already referred to, contain, in my judgment, by far the most able exposition extant of this part of the Constitution. He has satisfied me, so far as the practice of the Government had left it an open question.

With a great majority of the Representatives of Massachusetts, I voted against the tariff of 1824. My reasons were then given, and I will not now repeat them. But, notwithstanding our dissent, the great States of New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Kentucky, went for the bill, in almost unbroken column, and it passed. Congress and the President sanctioned it, and it became the law of the land. What, then, were we to do? Our only option was, either to fall in with this settled course of public policy, and accommodate ourselves to it as well as we could, or to embrace the South Carolina doctrine, and talk of nullifying the statute by State interference.

This last alternative did not suit our principles, and, of course, we adopted the former. In 1827 the subject came again before

Congress, on a proposition favorable to wool and woolens. We looked upon the system of protection as being fixed and settled. The law of 1824 remained. It had gone into full operation, and in regard to some objects intended by it, perhaps most of them, had produced all its expected effects. No man proposed to repeal it; no man attempted to renew the general contest on its principle. But, owing to subsequent and unforeseen occurrences, the benefit intended by it to wool and woolen fabrics had not been realized. Events, not known here when the law passed, had taken place, which defeated its object in that particular respect. A measure was accordingly brought forward to meet this precise deficiency; to remedy this particular defect. It was limited to wool and woolens. Was ever anything more reasonable? If the policy of the tariff laws had become established in principle, as the permanent policy of the Government, should they not be revised and amended, and made equal, like other laws, as exigencies should arise, or justice require? Because we had doubted about adopting the system, were we to refuse to cure its manifest defects, after it became adopted, and when no one attempted its repeal? And this, sir, is the inconsistency so much bruited. I had voted against the tariff of 1824 — but it passed; and in 1827 and 1828 I voted to amend it, in a point essential to the interest of my constituents. Where is the inconsistency? Could I do otherwise? Sir, does political consistency consist in always giving negative votes? Does it require of a public man to refuse to concur in amending laws, because they passed against his consent? Having voted against the tariff originally, does consistency demand that I should do all in my power to maintain an unequal tariff, burdensome to my own constituents, and in many respects, favorable to none? To consistency of that sort I lay no claim. And there is another sort to which I lay as little — and that is a kind of consistency by which persons feel themselves as much bound to oppose a proposition, after it has become a law of the land, as before.

The bill of 1827, limited, as I have said, to the single object in which the tariff of 1824 had manifestly failed in its effect, passed the House of Representatives, but was lost here. We had then the Act of 1828. I need not recur to the history of a measure so recent. Its enemies spiced it with whatsoever they thought would render it distasteful; its friends took it, drugged as it was. Vast amounts of property, many millions, had been invested in

manufactures, under the inducements of the Act of 1824. Events called loudly, as I thought, for further regulation to secure the degree of protection intended by that act. I was disposed to vote for such regulation, and desired nothing more; but certainly was not to be bantered out of my purpose by a threatened augmentation of duty on molasses, put into the bill for the avowed purpose of making it obnoxious. The vote may have been right or wrong, wise or unwise; but it is little less than absurd to allege against it an inconsistency with opposition to the former law.

Sir, as to the general subject of the tariff, I have little now to say. Another opportunity may be presented. I remarked the other day that this policy did not begin with us in New England; and yet, sir, New England is charged with vehemence as being favorable, or charged with equal vehemence as being unfavorable to the tariff policy, just as best suits the time, place, and occasion for making some charge against her. The credulity of the public has been put to its extreme capacity of false impression, relative to her conduct, in this particular. Through all the South, during the late contest, it was New England policy and a New England administration that was afflicting the country with a tariff beyond all endurance; while on the other side of the Alleghany, even the Act of 1828 itself, the very sublimated essence of oppression, according to Southern opinions, was pronounced to be one of those blessings for which the West was indebted to the "generous South."

With large investments in manufacturing establishments, and many and various interests connected with and dependent upon them, it is not expected that New England, any more than other portions of the country, will now consent to any measure, destructive or highly dangerous. The duty of the Government, at the present moment, would seem to be to preserve, not to destroy; to maintain the position which it has assumed; and, for one, I shall feel it an indispensable obligation to hold it steady, as far as in my power, to that degree of protection which it has undertaken to bestow. No more of the tariff.

Professing to be provoked, by what he chose to consider a charge made by me against South Carolina, the honorable Member, Mr. President, has taken up a new crusade against New England. Leaving altogether the subject of the public lands, in which his success, perhaps, had been neither distinguished or

satisfactory, and letting go, also, of the topic of the tariff, he sallied forth in a general assault on the opinions, politics, and parties of New England, as they have been exhibited in the last thirty years. This is natural. The "narrow policy" of the public lands had proved a legal settlement in South Carolina, and was not to be removed. The "accursed policy" of the tariff, also, had established the fact of its birth and parentage in the same State. No wonder, therefore, the gentleman wished to carry the war, as he expressed it, into the enemy's country. Prudently willing to quit these subjects, he was doubtless desirous of fastening on others that which could not be transferred south of Mason and Dixon's Line. The politics of New England became his theme; and it was in this part of his speech, I think, that he menaced me with such sore discomfiture. Discomfiture! Why, sir, when he attacks anything which I maintain, and overthrows it; when he turns the right or left of any position which I take up; when he drives me from any ground I choose to occupy; he may then talk of discomfiture, but not till that distant day. What has he done? Has he maintained his own charges? Has he proved what he alleged? Has he sustained himself in his attack on the Government, and on the history of the North, in the matter of the public lands? Has he disproved a fact, refuted a proposition, weakened an argument maintained by me? Has he come within beat of drum of any position of mine? Oh, no; but he has "carried the war into the enemy's country." Carried the war into the enemy's country! Yes, sir, and what sort of a war has he made of it? Why, sir, he has stretched a dragnet over the whole surface of perished pamphlets, indiscreet sermons, frothy paragraphs, and fuming popular addresses, over whatever the pulpit, in its moments of alarm, the press in its heats, and parties in their extravagance have severally thrown off in times of general excitement and violence. He has thus swept together a mass of such things as, but that they are now old and cold, the public health would have required him rather to leave in their state of dispersion. For a good long hour or two we had the unbroken pleasure of listening to the honorable Member while he recited, with his usual grace and spirit, and with evident high gusto, speeches, pamphlets, addresses, and all the *et ceteras* of the political press, such as warm heads produce in warm times; and such as it would be "discomfiture" indeed, for any one whose taste did not delight in that sort of reading to

be obliged to peruse. This is his war. This is to carry the war into the enemy's country. It is in an invasion of this sort that he flatters himself with the expectation of gaining laurels fit to adorn a Senator's brow!

Mr. President, I shall not,—it will, I trust, not be expected that I should,—either now, or at any time, separate this farrago into parts, and answer and examine its components. I shall hardly bestow upon it all a general remark or two. In the run of forty years, sir, under this Constitution, we have experienced sundry successive violent party contests. Party arose, indeed, with the Constitution itself, and, in some form or other, has attended it through the greater part of its history. Whether any other Constitution than the old Articles of Confederation was desirable, was itself a question on which parties formed; if a new Constitution were framed, what powers should be given it, was another question; and when it had been formed what was, in fact, the just extent of the powers actually conferred, was a third. Parties, as we know, existed under the first administration, as distinctly marked as those which have manifested themselves at any subsequent period. The contest immediately preceding the political change in 1801, and that, again, which existed at the commencement of the late war, are other instances of party excitement of something more than usual strength and intensity. In all these conflicts there was, no doubt, much of violence on both and all sides. It would be impossible, if one had a fancy for such employment, to adjust the relative *quantum* of violence between these contending parties. There was enough in each, as must always be expected in popular governments. With a great deal of proper and decorous discussion there was mingled a great deal also, of declamation, virulence, crimination, and abuse. In regard to any party, probably, at one of the leading epochs in the history of parties, enough may be found to make out another equally inflamed exhibition as that with which the honorable Member has edified us. For myself, sir, I shall not rake among the rubbish of bygone times to see what I can find, or whether I cannot find something by which I can fix a blot on the escutcheon of any State, any party, or any part of the country. General Washington's administration was steadily and zealously maintained, as we all know, by New England. It was violently opposed elsewhere. We know in what quarter he had the most earnest, constant, and persevering support in all his great and

leading measures. We know where his private and personal characters were held in the highest degree of attachment and veneration; and we know, too, where his measures were opposed, his services slighted, and his character vilified. We know, or we might know, if we turned to the journals, who expressed respect, gratitude, and regret when he retired from the Chief Magistracy; and who refused to express their respect, gratitude, or regret. I shall not open those journals. Publications more abusive or scurrilous never saw the light than were sent forth against Washington and all his leading measures from presses south of New England. But I shall not look them up. I employ no scavengers; no one is in attendance on me, tendering such means of retaliation; and, if there were, with an ass's load of them, with a bulk as huge as that which the gentleman himself has produced, I would not touch one of them. I see enough of the violence of our own times to be in no way anxious to rescue from forgetfulness the extravagances of times past. Besides, what is all this to the present purpose? It has nothing to do with the public lands, in regard to which the attack was begun; and it has nothing to do with those sentiments and opinions, which, I have thought, tend to disunion, and all of which the honorable Member seems to have adopted himself and undertaken to defend. New England has, at times, so argues the gentleman, held opinions as dangerous as those which he now holds. Suppose this were so, why should he, therefore, abuse New England? If he finds himself countenanced by acts of hers, how is it that, while he relies on these acts, he covers, or seeks to cover, their authors with reproach? But, sir, if, in the course of forty years, there have been undue effervescences of party in New England, has the same thing happened nowhere else? Party animosity and party outrage, not in New England, but elsewhere, denounced President Washington, not only as a Federalist, but as a Tory, a British agent, a man who, in his high office, sanctioned corruption. But does the honorable Member suppose that, if I had a tender here who should put such an effusion of wickedness and folly in my hand, that I would stand up and read it against the South? Parties ran into great heats again in 1799 and 1800. What was said, sir, or rather what was not said, in those years against John Adams, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, and its admitted ablest defender on the floor of Congress? If the gentleman wishes to increase his stores of party

abuse and frothy violence; if he has a determined proclivity to such pursuits, there are treasures of that sort south of the Potomac, much to his taste, yet untouched,—I shall not touch them.

The parties which divided the country at the commencement of the late war were violent. But, then, there was violence on both sides and violence in every State. Minorities and majorities were equally violent. There was no more violence against the war in New England than in other States; nor any more appearance of violence, except that, owing to a dense population, greater facility of assembling, and more presses, there may have been more in quantity spoken and printed there than in some other places. In the article of sermons, too, New England is somewhat more abundant than South Carolina; and for that reason the chance of finding here and there an exceptional one may be greater. I hope, too, there are more good ones. Opposition may have been more formidable in New England, as it embraced a larger portion of the whole population; but it was no more unrestrained in its principle, or violent in manner. The minorities dealt quite as harshly with their own State governments as the majorities dealt with the administration here. There were presses on both sides, popular meetings on both sides, aye, and pulpits on both sides, also. The gentleman's purveyors have only catered for him among the productions of one side. I certainly shall not supply the deficiency by furnishing samples of the other. I leave to him and to them the whole concern.

It is enough for me to say that if, in any part of this their grateful occupation; if in all their researches they find anything in the history of Massachusetts, or New England, or in the proceedings of any legislative or other public body disloyal to the Union, speaking slightly of its value, proposing to break it up, or recommending nonintercourse with neighboring States, on account of difference of political opinion, then, sir, I give them all up to the honorable gentleman's unrestrained rebuke; expecting, however, that he will extend his buffetings in like manner to all similar proceedings, wherever else found.

The gentleman, sir, has spoken at large of former parties, now no longer in being, by their received appellations, and has undertaken to instruct us, not only in the knowledge of their principles, but of their respective pedigrees also. He has ascended to the origin and run out their genealogies. With most exemplary mod-

esty he speaks of the party to which he professes to have belonged himself, as the true pure, the only honest, patriotic party, derived by regular descent from father to son from the time of the virtuous Romans! Spreading before us the family tree of political parties, he takes especial care to show himself snugly perched on a popular bough! He is wakeful to the expediency of adopting such rules of descent as shall bring him in, in exclusion of others, as an heir to the inheritance of all public virtue and all true political principle. His party and his opinions are sure to be orthodox; heterodoxy is confined to his opponents. He spoke, sir, of the Federalists, and I thought I saw some eyes begin to open and stare a little when he ventured on that ground. I expected he would draw his sketches rather lightly when he looked on the circle around him, and especially if he should cast his thoughts to the high places out of the Senate. Nevertheless, he went back to Rome, *ad annum urbe condita*, and found the fathers of the Federalists in the primeval aristocrats of that renowned empire! He traced the flow of Federal blood down through successive ages and centuries till he brought it into the veins of the American Tories (of whom, by the way, there were twenty in the Carolinas for one in Massachusetts). From the Tories he followed it to the Federalists; and as the Federal party was broken up, and there was no possibility of transmitting it further on this side the Atlantic, he seems to have discovered that it has gone off, collaterally, though against all the canons of descent, into the Ultras of France, and finally become extinguished, like exploded gas, among the adherents of Don Miguel! This, sir, is an abstract of the gentleman's history of Federalism. I am not about to controvert it. It is not at present worth the pains of refutation; because, sir, if at this day any one feels the sin of Federalism lying heavily on his conscience, he can easily procure remission. He may even obtain an indulgence, if he be desirous of repeating the same transgression. It is an affair of no difficulty to get into the same right line of patriotic descent. A man nowadays is at liberty to choose his political parentage. He may elect his own father. Federalist or not, he may, if he choose, claim to belong to the favored stock, and his claim will be allowed. He may carry back his pretensions just as far as the honorable gentleman himself; nay, he may make himself out the honorable gentleman's cousin, and prove satisfactorily that he is descended from the same political great-grandfather. All this

is allowable. We all know a process, sir, by which the whole Essex Junto could, in one hour, be all washed white from their ancient Federalism, and come out, every one of them, an original democrat, dyed in the wool! Some of them have actually undergone the operation, and they say it is quite easy. The only inconvenience it occasions, as they tell us, is a slight tendency of the blood to the face, a soft suffusion, which, however, is very transient, since nothing is said by those whom they join calculated to deepen the red on the cheek, but a prudent silence observed in regard to all the past. Indeed, sir, some smiles of approbation have been bestowed, and some crumbs of comfort have fallen not a thousand miles from the door of the Hartford Convention itself. And if the author of the Ordinance of 1787 possessed the other requisite qualifications, there is no knowing, notwithstanding his Federalism, to what heights of favor he might not yet attain.

Mr. President, in carrying his warfare, such as it was, into New England, the honorable gentleman all along professes to be acting on the defensive. He elects to consider me as having assailed South Carolina, and insists that he comes forth only as her champion and in her defense. Sir, I do not admit that I made any attack whatever on South Carolina. Nothing like it. The honorable Member in his first speech expressed opinions in regard to revenue, and some other topics, which I heard both with pain and with surprise. I told the gentleman I was aware that such sentiments were entertained out of the Government, but had not expected to find them advanced in it; that I knew there were persons in the South who speak of our Union with indifference or doubt, taking pains to magnify its evils and to say nothing of its benefits; that the honorable Member himself I was sure could never be one of these, and I regretted the expression of such opinions as he had avowed because I thought their obvious tendency was to encourage feelings of disrespect to the Union, and to weaken its connection. This, sir, is the sum and substance of all I said on the subject. And this constitutes the attack which called on the chivalry of the gentleman, in his own opinion, to harry us with such a foray among the party pamphlets and party proceedings of Massachusetts! If he means that I spoke with dissatisfaction or disrespect of the ebullitions of individuals in South Carolinia, it is true. But if he means that I had assailed the character of the State, her honor or patriotism; that I had

reflected on her history or her conduct, he had not the slightest ground for any such assumption. I did not even refer, I think, in my observations, to any collection of individuals. I said nothing of the recent conventions. I spoke in the most guarded and careful manner, and only expressed my regret for the publication of opinions which I presumed the honorable Member disapproved as much as myself. In this, it seems, I was mistaken. I do not remember that the gentleman has disclaimed any sentiment or any opinion of a supposed anti-Union tendency, which on all or any of the recent occasions has been expressed. The whole drift of his speech has been rather to prove that in divers times and manners sentiments equally liable to my objection have been promulgated in New England. And one would suppose that his object in this reference to Massachusetts was to find a precedent to justify proceedings in the South were it not for the reproach and contumely with which he labors all along to load these, his own chosen precedents. By way of defending South Carolina from what he chooses to think an attack on her, he first quotes the example of Massachusetts, and then denounces that example in good set terms. This twofold purpose, not very consistent with itself, one would think was exhibited more than once in the course of his speech. He referred, for instance, to the Hartford Convention. Did he do this for authority or for a topic of reproach? Apparently for both; for he told us that he should find no fault with the mere fact of holding such a convention and considering and discussing such questions as he supposes were then and there discussed; but what rendered it obnoxious was the time it was holden and the circumstances of the country then existing. We were in a war, he said, and the country needed all our aid — the hand of Government required to be strengthened, not weakened — and patriotism should have postponed such proceedings to another day. The thing itself, then, is a precedent, the time and manner of it only a subject of censure. Now, sir, I go much further on this point than the honorable Member. Supposing, as the gentleman seems to, that the Hartford Convention assembled for any such purpose as breaking up the Union because they thought unconstitutional laws had been passed, or to consult on that subject, or to calculate the value of the Union,— supposing this to be their purpose or any part of it, then, I say, the meeting itself was disloyal, and was obnoxious to censure, whether held in time of peace or time of war, or under whatever

circumstances. The material question is the object. Is dissolution the object? If it be, external circumstances may make it a more or less aggravated case, but cannot affect the principle. I do not hold, therefore, sir, that the Hartford Convention was pardonable, even to the extent of the gentleman's admission, if its objects were really such as have been imputed to it. Sir, there never was a time under any degree of excitement in which the Hartford Convention, or any other convention, could maintain itself one moment in New England if assembled for any such purpose as the gentleman says would have been an allowable purpose. To hold conventions to decide constitutional law!—to try the binding validity of statutes by votes in a convention! Sir, the Hartford Convention, I presume, would not desire that the honorable gentleman should be their defender or advocate if he puts their case upon such untenable and extravagant grounds.

Then, sir, the gentleman has no fault to find with these recently promulgated South Carolina opinions. And, certainly, he need have none; for his own sentiments as now advanced, and advanced on reflection as far as I have been able to comprehend them, go the full length of all these opinions. I propose, sir, to say something on these, and to consider how far they are just and constitutional. Before doing that, however, let me observe that the eulogium pronounced on the character of the State of South Carolina by the honorable gentleman for her revolutionary and other merits meets my hearty concurrence. I shall not acknowledge that the honorable Member goes before me in regard for whatever of distinguished talent or distinguished character South Carolina has produced. I claim part of the honor,—I partake in the pride of her great names. I claim them for countrymen, one and all. The Laurenses, the Rutledges, the Pinckneys, the Sumters, the Marions—Americans all—whose fame is no more to be hemmed in by State lines than their talents and patriotism were capable of being circumscribed within the same narrow limits. In their day and generation they served and honored the country and the whole country; and their renown is of the treasures of the whole country. Him whose honored name the gentleman himself bears—does he esteem me less capable of gratitude for his patriotism or sympathy for his sufferings than if his eyes had first opened upon the light of Massachusetts instead of South Carolina? Sir, does he suppose it in his power to exhibit a Carolina name so bright as to produce envy in my bosom? No,

sir, increased gratification and delight, rather. I thank God that if I am gifted with little of the spirit which is able to raise mortals to the skies, I have yet none, as I trust, of that other spirit which would drag angels down. When I shall be found, sir, in my place here in the Senate, or elsewhere, to sneer at public merit because it happens to spring up beyond the little limits of my own State or neighborhood; when I refuse for any such cause, or for any cause, the homage due to American talent, to elevated patriotism, to sincere devotion to liberty and the country; or, if I see an uncommon endowment of heaven — if I see extraordinary capacity and virtue in any son of the South — and if, moved by local prejudice, or gangrened by State jealousy, I get up here to abate the tithe of a hair from his just character and just fame, may my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth!

Sir, let me recur to pleasing recollections — let me indulge in refreshing remembrances of the past — let me remind you that in early times no States cherished greater harmony, both of principle and feeling, than Massachusetts and South Carolina. Would to God that harmony might again return! Shoulder to shoulder they went through the Revolution — hand in hand they stood round the administration of Washington and felt his own great arm lean on them for support. Unkind feeling, if it exist, alienation and distrust, are the growth, unnatural to such soils, of false principles since sown. They are weeds, the seeds of which that same great arm never scattered.

Mr. President, I shall enter on no encomium upon Massachusetts — she needs none. There she is — behold her, and judge for yourselves. There is her history; the world knows it by heart. The past, at least, is secure. There is Boston, and Concord, and Lexington, and Bunker Hill — and there they will remain forever. The bones of her sons, falling in the great struggle for independence, now lie mingled with the soil of every State, from New England to Georgia; and there they will lie forever. And, sir, where American liberty raised its first voice; and where its youth was nurtured and sustained, there it still lives, in the strength of its manhood and full of its original spirit. If discord and disunion shall wound it — if party strife and blind ambition shall hawk at and tear it — if folly and madness — if uneasiness, under salutary and necessary restraint shall succeed to separate it from that union, by which alone its existence is made sure, it will stand, in the end, by the side of that cradle in which its

infancy was rocked; it will stretch forth its arm with whatever of vigor it may still retain, over the friends who gather round it; and it will fall at last, if fall it must, amidst the proudest monuments of its own glory, and on the very spot of its origin.

There yet remains to be performed, Mr. President, by far the most grave and important duty, which I feel to be devolved on me by this occasion. It is to state and to defend what I conceive to be the true principles of the Constitution under which we are here assembled. I might well have desired that so weighty a task should have fallen into other and abler hands. I could have wished that it should have been executed by those whose character and experience give weight and influence to their opinions, such as cannot possibly belong to mine. But, sir, I have met the occasion, not sought it; and I shall proceed to state my own sentiments, without challenging for them any particular regard, with studied plainness and as much precision as possible.

I understand the honorable gentleman from South Carolina to maintain that it is a right of the State legislatures to interfere, whenever, in their judgment, this Government transcends its constitutional limits, and to arrest the operation of its laws.

I understand him to maintain this right; as a right existing under the Constitution, not as a right to overthrow it on the ground of extreme necessity, such as would justify violent revolution.

I understand him to maintain an authority, on the part of the States, thus to interfere, for the purpose of correcting the exercise of power by the General Government, of checking it and of compelling it to conform to their opinion of the extent of its powers.

I understand him to maintain that the ultimate power of judging of the constitutional extent of its own authority is not lodged exclusively in the General Government or any branch of it; but that, on the contrary, the States may lawfully decide for themselves, and each State for itself, whether in a given case the act of the General Government transcends its power.

I understand him to insist that if the exigency of the case, in the opinion of any State government, require it, such State government may, by its own sovereign authority, annul an act of the General Government which it deems plainly and palpably unconstitutional.

This is the sum of what I understand from him to be the South Carolina doctrine, and the doctrine which he maintains. I propose to consider it and compare it with the Constitution. Allow me to say as a preliminary remark that I call this the South Carolina doctrine only because the gentleman himself has so denominated it. I do not feel at liberty to say that South Carolina, as a State, has ever advanced these sentiments. I hope she has not and never may. That a great majority of her people are opposed to the tariff laws is doubtless true. That a majority somewhat less than that just mentioned conscientiously believe these laws unconstitutional may probably also be true. But that any majority holds to the right of direct State interference, at State discretion, the right of nullifying acts of Congress, by acts of State legislation, is more than I know and what I shall be slow to believe.

That there are individuals besides the honorable gentleman who do maintain these opinions is quite certain. I recollect the recent expression of a sentiment, which circumstances attending its utterance and publication justify us in supposing was not unpremeditated. "The sovereignty of the State — never to be controlled, construed, or decided on, but by her own feelings of honorable justice."

[Mr. Hayne here rose and said that for the purpose of being clearly understood, he would state that his proposition was in the words of the Virginia Resolution as follows: —

"That this assembly doth explicitly and peremptorily declare that it views the powers of the Federal Government as resulting from the compact to which the States are parties, as limited by the plain sense and intention of the instrument constituting that compact, as no further valid than they are authorized by the grants enumerated in that compact; and that, in case of a deliberate, palpable, and dangerous exercise of other powers, not granted by the said compact, the States who are parties thereto have the right and are in duty bound to interpose, for arresting the progress of the evil and for maintaining within their respective limits the authorities, rights, and liberties appertaining to them."]

I am quite aware, Mr. President, of the existence of the resolution which the gentleman read and has now repeated, and that he relies on it as his authority. I know the source, too, from which it is understood to have proceeded. I need not say that I have much respect for the constitutional opinions of Mr. Madison; they would weigh greatly with me always. But, before the

authority of his opinion be vouched for the gentleman's proposition, it will be proper to consider what is the fair interpretation of that resolution to which Mr. Madison is understood to have given his sanction. As the gentleman construes it, it is an authority for him. Possibly he may not have adopted the right construction. That resolution declares that in the case of the dangerous exercise of powers not granted by the General Government, the States may interpose to arrest the progress of the evil. But how interpose, and what does this declaration purport? Does it mean no more than that there may be extreme cases in which the people in any mode of assembling may resist usurpation and relieve themselves from a tyrannical government? No one will deny this. Such resistance is not only acknowledged to be just in America, but in England also. Blackstone admits as much in the theory and practice, too, of the English Constitution. We, sir, who oppose the Carolina doctrine do not deny that the people may, if they choose, throw off any government when it becomes oppressive and intolerable, and erect a better in its stead. We all know that civil institutions are established for the public benefit and that when they cease to answer the ends of their existence they may be changed. But I do not understand the doctrine now contended for to be that which, for the sake of distinctness, we may call the right of revolution. I understand the gentleman to maintain that, without revolution, without civil commotion, without rebellion, a remedy for supposed abuse and transgression of the powers of the General Government lies in a direct appeal to the interference of the State governments.

[Mr. Hayne here rose. He did not contend, he said, for the mere right of revolution, but for the right of constitutional resistance. What he maintained was that, in case of a plain, palpable violation of the Constitution by the General Government, a State may interpose, and that this interposition is constitutional.]

So, sir, I understood the gentleman, and am happy to find that I did not misunderstand him. What he contends for is that it is constitutional to interrupt the administration of the Constitution itself in the hands of those who are chosen and sworn to administer it by the direct inference in form of law of the States in virtue of their sovereign capacity. The inherent right in the people to reform their Government I do not deny; and they have

another right and that is to resist unconstitutional laws without overturning the Government. It is no doctrine of mine that unconstitutional laws bind the people. The great question is: Whose prerogative is it to decide on the constitutionality or unconstitutionality of the laws? On that the main debate hinges. The proposition that, in case of a supposed violation of the Constitution by Congress, the States have a constitutional right to interfere and annul the law of Congress, is the proposition of the gentleman: I do not admit it. If the gentleman had intended no more than to assert the right of revolution for justifiable cause, he would have said only what all agree to. But I cannot conceive that there can be a middle course between submission to the laws, when regularly pronounced constitutional on the one hand, and open resistance, which is revolution or rebellion on the other. I say the right of a State to annul a law of Congress cannot be maintained but on the ground of the unalienable right of man to resist oppression; that is to say, upon the ground of revolution. I admit that there is an ultimate violent remedy above the Constitution and in defiance of the Constitution, which may be resorted to when a revolution is to be justified. But I do not admit that under the Constitution, and in conformity with it, there is any mode in which a State government, as a member of the Union, can interfere and stop the progress of the General Government, by force of her own laws, under any circumstances whatever.

This leads us to inquire into the origin of this Government and the source of its power. Whose agent is it? Is it the creature of the State legislatures, or the creature of the people? If the Government of the United States be the agent of the State governments, then they may control it, provided they can agree in the manner of controlling it; if it be the agent of the people, then the people alone can control it, restrain it, modify, or reform it. It is observable enough that the doctrine for which the honorable gentleman contends leads him to the necessity of maintaining, not only that this General Government is the creature of the States, but that it is the creature of each of the States severally; so that each may assert the power for itself of determining whether it acts within the limits of its authority. It is the servant of four and twenty masters, of different wills and different purposes, and yet bound to obey all. This absurdity (for it seems no less) arises from a misconception as to the origin of

this Government and its true character. It is, sir, the people's Constitution, the people's Government; made for the people, made by the people, and answerable to the people. The people of the United States have declared that this Constitution shall be the supreme law. We must either admit the proposition, or dispute their authority. The States are, unquestionably, sovereign, so far as their sovereignty is not affected by this supreme law. But the State legislatures, as political bodies, however sovereign, are yet not sovereign over the people. So far as the people have given power to the General Government, so far the grant is unquestionably good, and the Government holds of the people, and not of the State governments. We are all agents of the same supreme power, the people. The General Government and the State governments derive their authority from the same source. Neither can, in relation to the other, be called primary, though one is definite and restricted and the other general and residuary. The National Government possesses those powers which it can be shown the people have conferred on it, and no more. All the rest belong to the State governments or to the people themselves. So far as the people have restrained State sovereignty, by the expression of their will, in the Constitution of the United States, so far, it must be admitted, State sovereignty is effectually controlled. I do not contend that it is, or ought to be, controlled further. The sentiment to which I have referred propounds that State sovereignty is only to be controlled by its own "feeling of justice"; that is to say, it is not to be controlled at all; for one who is to follow his own feelings is under no legal control. Now, however men may think this ought to be, the fact is that the people of the United States have chosen to impose control on State sovereignties. There are those, doubtless, who wish they had been left without restraint; but the Constitution has ordered the matter differently. To make war, for instance, is an exercise of sovereignty; but the Constitution declares that no State shall make war. To coin money is another exercise of sovereign power; but no State is at liberty to coin money. Again, the Constitution says that no sovereign State shall be so sovereign as to make a treaty. These prohibitions, it must be confessed, are a control on the State sovereignty of South Carolina, as well as of the other States, which does not arise "from her own feelings of honorable justice." Such an opinion, therefore, is in defiance of the plainest provisions of the Constitution.

There are other proceedings of public bodies which have already been alluded to, and to which I refer again for the purpose of ascertaining more fully what is the length and breadth of that doctrine, denominated the Carolina doctrine, which the honorable Member has now stood upon this floor to maintain. In one of them I find it resolved that "the tariff of 1828, and every other tariff designed to promote one branch of industry at the expense of others, is contrary to the meaning and intention of the Federal compact; and is such a dangerous, palpable and deliberate usurpation of power, by a determined majority, wielding the General Government beyond the limits of its delegated powers, as calls upon the States which compose the suffering minority, in their sovereign capacity, to exercise the powers which, as sovereigns, necessarily devolve upon them when their compact is violated."

Observe, sir, that this resolution holds the tariff of 1828, and every other tariff, designed to promote one branch of industry at the expense of another, to be such a dangerous, palpable and deliberate usurpation of power, as calls upon the States, in their sovereign capacity, to interfere by their own authority. This denunciation, Mr. President, you will please to observe, includes our old tariff of 1816, as well as all others; because that was established to promote the interest of the manufactures of cotton, to the manifest and admitted injury of the Calcutta cotton trade. Observe, again, that all the qualifications are here rehearsed and charged upon the tariff, which are necessary to bring the case within the gentleman's proposition. The tariff is a usurpation; it is a dangerous usurpation; it is a palpable usurpation; it is a deliberate usurpation. It is such a usurpation, therefore, as calls upon the States to exercise their right of interference. Here is a case, then, within the gentleman's principles, and all his qualifications of his principles. It is a case for action. The Constitution is plainly, dangerously, palpably and deliberately violated; and the States must interpose their own authority to arrest the law. Let us suppose the State of South Carolina to express this same opinion by the voice of her legislature. That would be very imposing; but what then? Is the voice of one State conclusive? It so happens that at the very moment when South Carolina resolves that the tariff laws are unconstitutional, Pennsylvania and Kentucky resolve exactly the reverse. They hold those laws to be both highly proper and strictly constitutional.

And now, sir, how does the honorable Member propose to deal with this case? How does he relieve us from this difficulty upon any principle of his? His construction gets us into it; how does he propose to get us out?

In Carolina the tariff is a palpable, deliberate usurpation; Carolina, therefore, may nullify it, and refuse to pay the duties. In Pennsylvania it is both clearly constitutional and highly expedient; and there the duties are to be paid. And yet we live under a Government of uniform laws, and under a Constitution, too, which contains an express provision, as it happens, that all duties shall be equal in all the States. Does not this approach absurdity?

If there be no power to settle such questions, independent of either of the States, is not the whole Union a rope of sand? Are we not thrown back again precisely upon the old confederation?

It is too plain to be argued. Four-and-twenty interpreters of constitutional law, each with a power to decide for itself, and none with authority to bind anybody else, and this constitutional law the only bond of their union! What is such a state of things but a mere connection during pleasure, or, to use the phraseology of the times, during feeling? And that feeling, too, not the feeling of the people, who established the Constitution, but the feeling of the State governments.

In another of the South Carolina addresses, having premised that the crisis requires "all the concentrated energy of passion," an attitude of open resistance to the laws of the Union is advised. Open resistance to the laws, then, is the constitutional remedy, the conservative power of the State, which the South Carolina doctrines teach for the redress of political evils, real or imaginary. And its authors further say that, appealing with confidence to the Constitution itself to justify their opinions, they cannot consent to try their accuracy by the courts of justice. In one sense, indeed, sir, this is assuming an attitude of open resistance in favor of liberty. But what sort of liberty? The liberty of establishing their own opinions, in defiance of the opinions of all others; the liberty of judging and of deciding exclusively themselves, in a matter in which others have as much right to judge and decide as they; the liberty of placing their own opinions above the judgment of all others, above the laws, and above the Constitution. This is their liberty, and this is the fair result

of the proposition contended for by the honorable gentleman. Or it may be more properly said, it is identical with it, rather than a result from it.

In the same publication we find the following:—

"Previously to our Revolution, when the arm of oppression was stretched over New England, where did our Northern brethren meet with a braver sympathy than that which sprang from the bosoms of Carolinians? We had no extortion, no oppression, no collision with the king's ministers, no navigation interests springing up in envious rivalry of England."

This seems extraordinary language. South Carolina no collision with the king's ministers in 1775! No extortion! No oppression! But, sir, it is also most significant language. Does any man doubt the purpose for which it was penned? Can any one fail to see that it was designed to raise in the reader's mind the question whether, at this time,—that is to say, in 1828,—South Carolina has any collision with the king's ministers, any oppression, or extortion to fear from England? Whether, in short, England is not as naturally the friend of South Carolina, as New England with her navigation interests springing up in envious rivalry of England?

Is it not strange, sir, that an intelligent man in South Carolina in 1828 should thus labor to prove that in 1775 there was no hostility, no cause of war between South Carolina and England? That she had no occasion in reference to her own interest, or from a regard to her own welfare, to take up arms in the revolutionary contest? Can any one account for the expression of such strange sentiments and their circulation through the State, otherwise than by supposing the object to be what I have already intimated, to raise the question if they had no "collision" (mark the expression) with the ministers of King George III., in 1775, what collision have they in 1828 with the ministers of King George IV.? What is there now in the existing state of things to separate Carolina from Old more, or rather, than from New England?

Resolutions, sir, have been recently passed by the legislature of South Carolina. I need not refer to them; they go no further than the honorable gentleman himself has gone,—and, I hope, not so far. I content myself, therefore, with debating the matter with him.

And now, sir, what I have first to say on this subject is that at no time and under no circumstances has New England or any State in New England, or any respectable body of persons in New England, or any public man of standing in New England, put forth such a doctrine as this Carolina doctrine.

The gentleman has found no case, he can find none, to support his own opinions by New England authority. New England has studied the Constitution in other schools and under other teachers. She looks upon it with other regards, and deems more highly and reverently both of its just authority and its utility and excellence. The history of her legislative proceedings may be traced — the ephemeral effusions of temporary bodies, called together by the excitement of the occasion, may be hunted up — they have been hunted up. The opinions and votes of her public men, in and out of Congress, may be explored — it will all be in vain. The Carolina doctrine can derive from her neither countenance nor support. She rejects it now; she always did reject it; and till she loses her senses, she always will reject it. The honorable Member has referred to expressions on the subject of the Embargo law made in this place by an honorable and venerable gentleman [Mr. Hillhouse] now favoring us with his presence. He quotes that distinguished Senator as saying that, in his judgment, the Embargo law was unconstitutional, and that, therefore, in his opinion the people were not bound to obey it. That, sir, is perfectly constitutional language. An unconstitutional law is not binding; but then it does not rest with a resolution or a law of a State legislature to decide whether an act of Congress be or be not constitutional. An unconstitutional act of Congress would not bind the people of this district, although they have no legislature to interfere in their behalf; and, on the other hand, a constitutional law of Congress does bind the citizens of every State, although all their legislatures should undertake to annul it by act or resolution. The venerable Connecticut Senator is a constitutional lawyer of sound principles and enlarged knowledge; a statesman practiced and experienced, bred in the company of Washington, and holding just views upon the nature of our governments. He believed the Embargo unconstitutional, and so did others; but what then? Who did he suppose was to decide that question? The State legislatures? Certainly not. No such sentiment ever escaped his lips. Let us follow up, sir, this New England opposition

to the Embargo laws; let us trace it till we discern the principle which controlled and governed New England throughout the whole course of that opposition. We shall then see what similarity there is between the New England school of constitutional opinions and this modern Carolina school. The gentleman, I think, read a petition from some single individual, addressed to the legislature of Massachusetts, asserting the Carolina doctrine,—that is, the right of State interference to arrest the laws of the Union. The fate of that petition shows the sentiment of the legislature. It met no favor. The opinions of Massachusetts were otherwise. They had been expressed in 1798 in answer to the resolutions of Virginia, and she did not depart from them, nor bend them to the times. Misgoverned, wronged, oppressed as she felt herself to be, she still held fast her integrity to the Union. The gentleman may find in her proceedings much evidence of dissatisfaction with the measures of government, and great and deep dislike to the Embargo; all this makes the case so much the stronger for her; for notwithstanding all this dissatisfaction and dislike, she claimed no right, still, to sever asunder the bonds of the Union. There was heat and there was anger in her political feeling. Be it so! Her heat or her anger did not, nevertheless, betray her into infidelity to the Government. The gentleman labors to prove that she disliked the Embargo as much as South Carolina dislikes the tariff, and expressed her dislike as strongly. Be it so; but did she propose the Carolina remedy?—did she threaten to interfere, by State authority, to annul the laws of the Union? That is the question for the gentleman's consideration.

No doubt, sir, a great majority of the people of New England conscientiously believed the Embargo law of 1807 unconstitutional; as conscientiously, certainly, as the people of South Carolina hold that opinion of the tariff. They reasoned thus: Congress has power to regulate commerce; but here is a law, they said, stopping all commerce, and stopping it indefinitely. The law is perpetual; that is, it is not limited in point of time, and must, of course, continue until it shall be repealed by some other law. It is as perpetual therefore, as the law against treason or murder. Now, is this regulating commerce or destroying it? Is it guiding, controlling, giving the rule to commerce, as a subsisting thing; or is it putting an end to it altogether? Nothing is more certain than that a majority in New England deemed this law

a violation of the Constitution. The very case required by the gentleman to justify State interference had then arisen. Massachusetts believed this law to be "a deliberate, palpable, and dangerous exercise of a power not granted by the Constitution." Deliberate it was, for it was long continued; palpable, she thought it, as no words in the Constitution gave the power, and only a construction, in her opinion most violent, raised it; dangerous it was, since it threatened utter ruin to her most important interests. Here, then, was a Carolina case. How did Massachusetts deal with it? It was, as she thought, a plain, manifest, palpable violation of the Constitution, and it brought ruin to her doors. Thousands of families, and hundreds of thousands of individuals were beggared by it. While she saw and felt all this, she saw and felt also that, as a measure of national policy, it was perfectly futile; that the country was no way benefited by that which caused so much individual distress; that it was efficient only for the production of evil, and all that evil inflicted on ourselves. In such a case, under such circumstances, how did Massachusetts demean herself? Sir, she remonstrated, she memorialized, she addressed herself to the General Government, not exactly "with the concentrated energy of passion," but with her own strong sense and the energy of sober conviction. But she did not interpose the arm of her own power to arrest the law and break the Embargo. Far from it. Her principles bound her to two things; and she followed her principles, lead where they might. First, to submit to every constitutional law of Congress, and, secondly, if the constitutional validity of the law be doubted, to refer that question to the decision of the proper tribunals. The first principle is vain and ineffectual without the second. A majority of us in New England believed the Embargo law unconstitutional; but the great question was, and always will be, in such cases: Who is to decide this? Who is to judge between the people and the Government? And, sir, it is quite plain that the Constitution of the United States confers on the Government itself, to be exercised by its appropriate department, and under its own responsibility to the people, this power of deciding ultimately and conclusively upon the just extent of its own authority. If this had not been done, we should not have advanced a single step beyond the old confederation.

Being fully of opinion that the Embargo law was unconstitutional, the people of New England were yet equally clear in the

opinion,—it was a matter they did not doubt upon,—that the question, after all, must be decided by the judicial tribunals of the United States. Before those tribunals, therefore, they brought the question. Under the provisions of the law they had given bonds to millions in amount, and which were alleged to be forfeited. They suffered the bonds to be sued, and thus raised the question. In the old-fashioned way of settling disputes, they went to law. The case came to hearing and solemn argument; and he who espoused their cause and stood up for them against the validity of the Embargo Act was none other than that great man of whom the gentleman has made honorable mention, Samuel Dexter. He was then, sir, in the fullness of his knowledge and the maturity of his strength. He had retired from long and distinguished public service here, to the renewed pursuit of professional duties; carrying with him all that enlargement and expansion, all the new strength and force, which an acquaintance with the more general subjects discussed in the national councils is capable of adding to professional attainment in a mind of true greatness and comprehension. He was a lawyer and he was also a statesman. He had studied the Constitution, when he filled public station, that he might defend it; he had examined its principles that he might maintain them. More than all men, or at least as much as any man, he was attached to the General Government and to the Union of the States. His feelings and opinions all ran in that direction. A question of Constitutional law, too, was, of all subjects, that one which was best suited to his talents and learning. Aloof from technicality, and unfettered by artificial rule, such a question gave opportunity for that deep and clear analysis, that mighty grasp of principle, which so much distinguished his higher efforts. His very statement was argument; his inference seemed demonstration. The earnestness of his own conviction wrought conviction in others. One was convinced, and believed, and assented, because it was gratifying, delightful, to think and feel and believe in unison with an intellect of such evident superiority.

Mr. Dexter, sir, such as I have described him, argued the New England cause. He put into his effort his whole heart, as well as all the powers of his understanding; for he had avowed, in the most public manner, his entire concurrence with his neighbors on the point in dispute. He argued the cause; it was lost, and New England submitted. The established tribunals

pronounced the law constitutional, and New England acquiesced. Now, sir, is not this the exact opposite of the doctrine of the gentleman from South Carolina? According to him, instead of referring to the judicial tribunals, we should have broken up the Embargo by laws of our own; we should have repealed it *quoad* New England; for we had a strong, palpable, and oppressive case. Sir, we believed the Embargo unconstitutional; but still that was matter of opinion, and who was to decide it? We thought it a clear case; but, nevertheless, we did not take the law into our own hands because we did not wish to bring about a revolution, nor to break up the Union: for I maintain that, between submission to the decision of the constituted tribunals and revolution, or disunion, there is no middle ground,—there is no ambiguous condition, half allegiance, and half rebellion. And, sir, how futile, how very futile it is to admit the right of State interference, and then attempt to save it from the character of unlawful resistance by adding terms of qualification to the causes and occasions, leaving all these qualifications, like the case itself, in the discretion of the State governments. It must be a clear case, it is said, a deliberate case; a palpable case; a dangerous case. But then the State is still left at liberty to decide for herself what is clear, what is deliberate, what is palpable, what is dangerous. Do adjectives and epithets avail anything? Sir, the human mind is so constituted that the merits of both sides of a controversy appear very clear and very palpable to those who respectively espouse them; and both sides usually grow clearer as the controversy advances. South Carolina sees unconstitutionality in the tariff; she sees oppression there also; and she sees danger. Pennsylvania, with a vision not less sharp, looks at the same tariff, and sees no such thing in it,—she sees it all constitutional, all useful, all safe. The faith of South Carolina is strengthened by opposition, and she now not only sees, but resolves that the tariff is palpably unconstitutional, oppressive, and dangerous; but Pennsylvania, not to be behind her neighbors, and equally willing to strengthen her own faith by a confident asseveration, resolves, also, and gives to every warm affirmative of South Carolina a plain, downright, Pennsylvania negative. South Carolina, to show the strength and unity of her opinion, brings her assembly to a unanimity within seven voices; Pennsylvania, not to be outdone in this respect more than others, reduces her dissentient fraction to a single vote. Now, sir, again I ask the

gentleman what is to be done? Are these States both right? Is he bound to consider them both right? If not, which is in the wrong? or rather, which has the best right to decide? And if he and if I are not to know what the Constitution means and what it is till those two State legislatures and the twenty-two others shall agree in its construction, what have we sworn to when we have sworn to maintain it? I was forcibly struck, sir, with one reflection as the gentleman went on in his speech. He quoted Mr. Madison's resolutions, to prove that a State may interfere, in a case of deliberate, palpable, and dangerous exercise of a power not granted. The honorable Member supposes the tariff law to be such an exercise of power; and that, consequently, a case has arisen in which the State may, if it see fit, interfere by its own law. Now it so happens, nevertheless, that Mr. Madison deems this same tariff law quite constitutional. Instead of a clear and palpable violation, it is, in his judgment, no violation at all. So that, while they use his authority for a hypothetical case, they reject it in the very case before them. All this, sir, shows the inherent—futility—I had almost used a stronger word—of conceding this power of interference to the States, and then attempting to secure it from abuse by imposing qualifications, of which the States themselves are to judge. One of two things is true: either the laws of the Union are beyond the discretion and beyond the control of the States, or else we have no Constitution of General Government, and are thrust back again to the days of the Confederacy.

Let me here say, sir, that if the gentleman's doctrine had been received and acted upon in New England, in the times of the Embargo and Nonintercourse, we should probably not now have been here. The Government would very likely have gone to pieces, and crumbled into dust. No stronger case can ever arise than existed under those laws; no States can ever entertain a clearer conviction than the New England States then entertained; and if they had been under the influence of that heresy of opinion, as I must call it, which the honorable Member espouses, this Union would, in all probability, have been scattered to the four winds. I ask the gentleman, therefore, to apply his principles to that case; I ask him to come forth and declare whether, in his opinion, the New England States would have been justified in interfering to break up the Embargo system under the conscientious opinions which they held upon it? Had

they a right to annul that law? Does he admit, or deny? If that which is thought palpably unconstitutional in South Carolina justifies that State in arresting the progress of the law, tell me whether that which was thought palpably unconstitutional also in Massachusetts would have justified her in doing the same thing? Sir, I deny the whole doctrine. It has not a foot of ground in the Constitution to stand on. No public man of reputation ever advanced it in Massachusetts, in the warmest times, or could maintain himself upon it there at any time.

I wish now, sir, to make a remark upon the Virginia Resolutions of 1798. I cannot undertake to say how these resolutions were understood by those who passed them. Their language is not a little indefinite. In the case of the exercise by Congress of a dangerous power not granted to them, the resolutions assert the right, on the part of the State, to interfere and arrest the progress of the evil. This is susceptible of more than one interpretation. It may mean no more than that the States may interfere by complaint and remonstrance, or by proposing to the people an alteration of the Federal Constitution. This would all be quite unobjectionable; or, it may be, that no more is meant than to assert the general right of revolution, as against all governments, in cases of intolerable oppression. This no one doubts; and this, in my opinion, is all that he who framed the resolutions could have meant by it: for I shall not readily believe that he was ever of opinion that a State, under the Constitution, and in conformity with it, could, upon the ground of her own opinion of its unconstitutionality, however clear and palpable she might think the case, annul a law of Congress, so far as it should operate on herself, by her own legislative power.

I must now beg to ask, sir, whence is this supposed right of the States derived? — where do they find the power to interfere with the laws of the Union? Sir, the opinion which the honorable gentleman maintains is a notion, founded in a total misapprehension, in my judgment, of the origin of this Government and of the foundation on which it stands. I hold it to be a popular Government, erected by the people; those who administer it, responsible to the people; and itself capable of being amended and modified, just as the people may choose it should be. It is as popular, just as truly emanating from the people, as the State governments. It is created for one purpose; the State governments for another. It has its own powers; they have theirs.

There is no more authority with them to arrest the operation of a law of Congress than with Congress to arrest the operation of their laws. We are here to administer a Constitution emanating immediately from the people, and trusted by them to our administration. It is not the creature of the State governments. It is of no moment to the argument, that certain acts of the State legislatures are necessary to fill our seats in this body. That is not one of their original State powers, a part of the sovereignty of the State. It is a duty which the people, by the Constitution itself, have imposed on the State legislatures, and which they might have left to be performed elsewhere, if they had seen fit. So they have left the choice of President with electors; but all this does not affect the proposition, that this whole Government, President, Senate, and House of Representatives, is a popular Government. It leaves it still all its popular character. The governor of a State (in some of the States) is chosen, not directly by the people, but by those who are chosen by the people, for the purpose of performing, among other duties, that of electing a governor. Is the government of the State, on that account, not a popular government? This government, sir, is the independent offspring of the popular will. It is not the creature of State legislatures; nay, more, if the whole truth must be told, the people brought it into existence, established it, and have hitherto supported it, for the very purpose, amongst others, of imposing certain salutary restraints on State sovereignties. The States cannot now make war; they cannot contract alliances; they cannot make, each for itself, separate regulations of commerce; they cannot lay imposts; they cannot coin money. If this Constitution, sir, be the creature of State legislatures, it must be admitted that it has obtained a strange control over the volitions of its creators.

The people, then, sir, erected this Government. They gave it a Constitution, and in that Constitution they have enumerated the powers which they bestow on it. They have made it a limited Government. They have defined its authority. They have restrained it to the exercise of such powers as are granted; and all others, they declare, are reserved to the States or the people. But, sir, they have not stopped here. If they had, they would have accomplished but half their work. No definition can be so clear as to avoid possibility of doubt; no limitation so precise as to exclude all uncertainty. Who, then, shall construe this grant

of the people? Who shall interpret their will, where it may be supposed they have left it doubtful? With whom do they repose this ultimate right of deciding on the powers of the Government? Sir, they have settled all this in the fullest manner. They have left it with the Government itself, in its appropriate branches. Sir, the very chief end, the main design, for which the whole Constitution was framed and adopted, was to establish a Government that should not be obliged to act through State agency, or depend on State opinion and State discretion. The people had had quite enough of that kind of Government under the Confederacy. Under that system the legal action — the application of law to individuals — belonged exclusively to the States. Congress could only recommend — their acts were not of binding force till the States had adopted and sanctioned them. Are we in that condition still? Are we yet at the mercy of State discretion and State construction? Sir, if we are, then vain will be our attempt to maintain the Constitution under which we sit.

But, sir, the people have wisely provided in the Constitution itself, a proper suitable mode and tribunal for settling questions of constitutional law. There are, in the Constitution, grants of powers to Congress, and restrictions on these powers. There are also prohibitions on the States. Some authority must therefore necessarily exist, having the ultimate jurisdiction to fix and ascertain the interpretation of these grants, restrictions, and prohibitions. The Constitution has itself pointed out, ordained, and established that authority. How has it accomplished this great and essential end? By declaring, sir, that "the Constitution and the laws of the United States, made in pursuance thereof, shall be the supreme law of the land, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding."

This, sir, was the first great step. By this the supremacy of the Constitution and laws of the United States is declared. The people so will it. No State law is to be valid, which comes in conflict with the Constitution, or any law of the United States passed in pursuance of it. But who shall decide this question of interference? To whom lies the last appeal? This, sir, the Constitution itself decides also by declaring "that the judicial power shall extend to all cases arising under the Constitution and laws of the United States." These two provisions, sir, cover the whole ground. They are in truth the keystone of the arch. With these it is a Constitution; without them it is a Confederacy. In pur-

suance of these clear and express provisions, Congress established at its very first session in the judicial act a mode for carrying them into full effect and for bringing all questions of constitutional power to the final decision of the Supreme Court. It then, sir, became a Government. It then had the means of self-protection; and but for this it would, in all probability, have been now among things which are past. Having constituted the Government, and declared its powers, the people have further said, that since somebody must decide on the extent of these powers, the Government shall itself decide; subject always, like other popular governments, to its responsibility to the people. And now, sir, I repeat, how is it that a State legislature acquires any power to interfere? Who, or what, gives them the right to say to the people: "We, who are your agents and servants for one purpose, will undertake to decide that your other agents and servants, appointed by you for another purpose, have transcended the authority you gave them!" The reply would be, I think, not impertinent — "Who made you a judge over another's servants? To their own masters they stand or fall."

Sir, I deny this power of State legislatures altogether. It cannot stand the test of examination. Gentlemen may say that in an extreme case a State government might protect the people from intolerable oppression. Sir, in such a case, the people might protect themselves without the aid of the State Governments. Such a case warrants revolution. It must make, when it comes, a law for itself. A nullifying act of a State legislature cannot alter the case, nor make resistance any more lawful. In maintaining these sentiments, sir, I am but asserting the rights of the people. I state what they have declared, and insist on their right to declare it. They have chosen to repose this power in the General Government, and I think it my duty to support it, like other constitutional powers.

For myself, sir, I do not admit the jurisdiction of South Carolina, or any other State, to prescribe my constitutional duty; or to settle, between me and the people, the validity of laws of Congress for which I have voted. I decline her umpirage. I have not sworn to support the Constitution according to her construction of its clauses. I have not stipulated by my oath of office, or otherwise, to come under any responsibility except to the people and those whom they have appointed to pass upon the question, whether laws, supported by my votes, conform to the

Constitution of the country. And, sir, if we look to the general nature of the case, could anything have been more preposterous than to make a Government for the whole Union, and yet leave its powers subject, not to one interpretation, but to thirteen or twenty-four interpretations? Instead of one tribunal, established by all, responsible to all, with power to decide for all, shall constitutional questions be left to four-and-twenty popular bodies, each at liberty to decide for itself, and none bound to respect the decisions of others; and each at liberty, too, to give a new construction on every new election of its own members? Would anything with such a principle in it, or rather with such a destitution of all principle, be fit to be called a Government? No, sir. It should not be denominated a Constitution. It should be called, rather, a collection of topics for everlasting controversy; heads of debate for a disputatious people. It would not be a government. It would not be adequate to any practical good, nor fit for any country to live under. To avoid all possibility of being misunderstood, allow me to repeat again in the fullest manner that I claim no powers for the Government by forced or unfair construction. I admit that it is a Government of strictly limited powers; of enumerated, specified, and particularized powers; and that whatsoever is not granted is withheld. But notwithstanding all this, and however the grant of powers may be expressed, its limit and extent may yet, in some cases, admit of doubt; and the General Government would be good for nothing, it would be incapable of long existing if some mode had not been provided in which those doubts, as they should arise, might be peaceably but authoritatively solved.

And now, Mr. President, let me run the honorable gentleman's doctrine a little into its practical application. Let us look at his probable *modus operandi*. If a thing can be done, an ingenious man can tell how it is to be done. Now I wish to be informed how this State interference is to be put in practice without violence, bloodshed, and rebellion. We will take the existing case of the tariff law. South Carolina is said to have made up her opinion upon it. If we do not repeal it (as we probably shall not), she will then apply to the case the remedy of her doctrine. She will, we must suppose, pass a law of her legislature declaring the several acts of Congress, usually called the tariff laws, null and void, so far as they respect South Carolina or the citizens thereof. So far all is a paper transaction, and

easy enough. But the collector at Charleston is collecting the duties imposed by these tariff laws—he, therefore, must be stopped. The collector will seize the goods if the tariff duties are not paid. The State authorities will undertake their rescue; the marshal with his posse will come to the collector's aid, and here the contest begins. The militia of the State will be called out to sustain the nullifying act. They will march, sir, under a very gallant leader, for I believe the honorable Member himself commands the militia of that part of the State. He will raise the nullifying act on his standard, and spread it out as his banner! It will have a preamble bearing: "That the tariff laws are palpable, deliberate, and dangerous violations of the Constitution!" He will proceed, with this banner flying, to the customhouse in Charleston:—

"All the while
Sonorous metal blowing martial sounds."

Arrived at the customhouse, he will tell the collector that he must collect no more duties under any of the tariff laws. This he will be somewhat puzzled to say, by the way, with a grave countenance, considering what hand South Carolina herself had in that of 1816. But, sir, the collector would probably not desist at his bidding. He would show him the law of Congress, the Treasury instruction, and his own oath of office. He would say he should perform his duty, come what might. Here would ensue a pause: for they say that a certain stillness precedes the tempest. The trumpeter would hold his breath awhile, and before all this military array should fall on the customhouse, collector, clerks and all, it is very probable some of those composing it would request of their gallant commander in chief to be informed a little upon the point of law; for they have doubtless a just respect for his opinions as a lawyer, as well as for his bravery as a soldier. They know he has read Blackstone and the Constitution, as well as Turenne and Vauban. They would ask him, therefore, something concerning their rights in this matter. They would inquire whether it was not somewhat dangerous to resist a law of the United States. What would be the nature of their offense, they would wish to learn, if they by military force and array resisted the execution in Carolina of a law of the United States, and it should turn out, after all, that the law was constitutional? He would answer, of course, treason. No lawyer could give any

other answer. John Fries, he would tell them, had learned that some years ago. How then, they would ask, do you propose to defend us? We are not afraid of bullets, but treason has a way of taking people off that we do not much relish. How do you propose to defend us? "Look at my floating banner," he would reply; "see there the nullifying law!" Is it your opinion, gallant commander, they would then say, that if we should be indicted for treason, that same floating banner of yours would make a good plea in bar? "South Carolina is a sovereign State," he would reply. That is true — but would the judge admit our plea? "These tariff laws," he would repeat, "are unconstitutional, palpably, deliberately, dangerously." That all may be so; but if the tribunal should not happen to be of that opinion, shall we swing for it? We are ready to die for our country, but it is rather an awkward business, this dying without touching the ground! After all, that is a sort of hemp tax worse than any part of the tariff.

Mr. President, the honorable gentleman would be in a dilemma like that of another great general. He would have a knot before him which he could not untie. He must cut it with his sword. He must say to his followers, Defend yourselves with your bayonets; and this is war — civil war.

Direct collision, therefore, between force and force is the unavoidable result of that remedy for the revision of unconstitutional laws which the gentleman contends for. It must happen in the very first case to which it is applied. Is not this the plain result? To resist, by force, the execution of a law generally is treason. Can the courts of the United States take notice of the indulgence of a State to commit treason? The common saying that a State cannot commit treason herself is nothing to the purpose. Can she authorize others to do it? If John Fries had produced an act of Pennsylvania annulling the law of Congress, would it have helped his case? Talk about it as we will, these doctrines go the length of revolution. They are incompatible with any peaceable administration of the Government. They lead directly to disunion and civil commotion; and, therefore, it is, that at their commencement, when they are first found to be maintained by respectable men, and in a tangible form, I enter my public protest against them all.

The honorable gentleman argues that if this Government be the sole judge of the extent of its own powers, whether that right of judging be in Congress, or the Supreme Court, it equally

subverts State sovereignty. This the gentleman sees, or thinks he sees, although he cannot perceive how the right of judging, in this matter, if left to the exercise of State legislatures, has any tendency to subvert the Government of the Union. The gentleman's opinion may be, that the right ought not to have been lodged with the General Government; he may like better such a Constitution, as we should have under the right of State interference; but I ask him to meet me on the plain matter of fact; I ask him to meet me on the Constitution itself; I ask him if the power is not found there — clearly and visibly found there.

But, sir, what is this danger, and what the grounds of it? Let it be remembered that the Constitution of the United States is not unalterable. It is to continue in its present form no longer than the people who established it shall choose to continue it. If they shall become convinced that they have made an injudicious or inexpedient partition and distribution of power, between the State governments and the General Government, they can alter that distribution at will.

If anything be found in the national Constitution, either by original provision, or subsequent interpretation, which ought not to be in it, the people know how to get rid of it. If any construction be established, unacceptable to them, so as to become, practically, a part of the Constitution, they will amend it, at their own sovereign pleasure: but while the people choose to maintain it, as it is; while they are satisfied with it, and refuse to change it, who has given, or who can give, to the State legislatures a right to alter it, either by interference, construction, or otherwise? Gentlemen do not seem to recollect that the people have any power to do anything for themselves; they imagine there is no safety for them any longer than they are under the close guardianship of the State legislatures. Sir, the people have not trusted their safety, in regard to the General Constitution, to these hands. They have required other security, and taken other bonds. They have chosen to trust themselves, first, to the plain words of the instrument, and to such construction as the Government itself, in doubtful cases, should put on its own powers, under their oaths of office, and subject to their responsibility to them; just as the people of a State trust their own State governments with a similar power. Secondly, they have reposed their trust in the efficacy of frequent elections, and in their own power to remove their own servants and agents, whenever they see cause. Thirdly,

they have reposed trust in the judicial power, which, in order that it might be trustworthy, they have made as respectable, as disinterested, and as independent as was practicable. Fourthly, they have seen fit to rely, in case of necessity, or high expediency, on their known and admitted power, to alter or amend the Constitution, peaceably and quietly, whenever experience shall point out defects or imperfections. And, finally, the people of the United States have, at no time, in no way, directly or indirectly, authorized any State legislature to construe or interpret their high instrument of government; much less to interfere, by their own power, to arrest its course and operation.

If, sir, the people, in these respects, had done otherwise than they have done, their Constitution could neither have been preserved, nor would it have been worth preserving. And, if its plain provisions shall now be disregarded, and these new doctrines interpolated in it, it will become as feeble and helpless a being as its enemies, whether early or more recent, could possibly desire. It will exist in every State, but as a poor dependent on State permission. It must borrow leave to be and it will be no longer than State pleasure or State discretion sees fit to grant the indulgence and to prolong its poor existence.

But, sir, although there are fears, there are hopes also. The people have preserved this, their own chosen Constitution, for forty years and have seen their happiness, prosperity and renown grow with its growth, and strengthen with its strength. They are now, generally, strongly attached to it. Overthrown by direct assault, it cannot be; evaded, undermined, nullified, it will not be, if we, and those who shall succeed us here, as agents and representatives of the people, shall conscientiously and vigilantly discharge the two great branches of our public trust—faithfully to preserve and wisely to administer it.

Mr. President, I have thus stated the reasons of my dissent to the doctrines which have been advanced and maintained. I am conscious of having detained you and the Senate much too long. I was drawn into the debate with no previous deliberation such as is suited to the discussion of so grave and important a subject. But it is a subject of which my heart is full, and I have not been willing to suppress the utterance of its spontaneous sentiments. I cannot, even now, persuade myself to relinquish it without expressing once more, my deep conviction, that since it respects nothing less than the Union of the States, it is of most

vital and essential importance to the public happiness. I profess, sir, in my career, hitherto, to have kept steadily in view the prosperity and honor of the whole country, and the preservation of our Federal Union. It is to that Union we owe our safety at home and our consideration and dignity abroad. It is to that Union that we are chiefly indebted for whatever makes us most proud of our country. That Union we reached only by the discipline of our virtues in the severe school of adversity. It had its origin in the necessities of disordered finance, prostrate commerce and ruined credit. Under its benign influence, these great interests immediately awoke as from the dead and sprang forth with newness of life. Every year of its duration has teemed with fresh proofs of its utility and its blessings; and, although our territory has stretched out wider and wider, and our population spread further and further, they have not outrun its protection or its benefits. It has been to us all a copious fountain of national, social and personal happiness. I have not allowed myself, sir, to look beyond the Union to see what might lie hidden in the dark recess behind. I have not coolly weighed the chances of preserving liberty when the bonds that unite us together shall be broken asunder. I have not accustomed myself to hang over the precipice of disunion to see whether, with my short sight, I can fathom the depth of the abyss below; nor could I regard him as a safe counselor in the affairs of this Government, whose thoughts should be mainly bent on considering not how the Union should be best preserved, but how tolerable might be the condition of the people when it shall be broken up and destroyed. While the Union lasts we have high, exciting, gratifying prospects spread out before us, for us and our children. Beyond that I seek not to penetrate the veil. God grant that in my day, at least, that curtain may not rise. God grant that, on my vision, never may be opened what lies behind. When my eyes shall be turned to behold, for the last time, the sun in heaven, may I not see him shining on the broken and dishonored fragments of a once glorious Union; on States dissevered, discordant, belligerent; on a land rent with civil feuds, or drenched, it may be, in fraternal blood! Let their last feeble and lingering glance rather behold the gorgeous ensign of the Republic, now known and honored throughout the earth, still full high advanced, its arms and trophies streaming in their original lustre, not a stripe erased or polluted, nor a single star obscured, bearing for its motto no such

miserable interrogatory as, "What is all this worth?" nor those other words of delusion and folly, "Liberty first and union afterwards"; but everywhere, spread all over in characters of living light, blazing on all its ample folds, as they float over the sea and over the land, and in every wind under the whole heavens, that other sentiment, dear to every true American heart — Liberty and Union, now and forever one and inseparable!

LAYING THE CORNER-STONE OF BUNKER HILL MONUMENT

(Delivered on the Seventeenth of June, 1825)

THIS uncounted multitude before me, and around me, proves the feeling which the occasion has excited. These thousands of human faces, glowing with sympathy and joy, and, from the impulses of a common gratitude, turned reverently to heaven, in this spacious temple of the firmament, proclaim that the day, the place, and the purpose of our assembling have made a deep impression on our hearts.

If, indeed, there be anything in local association fit to affect the mind of man, we need not strive to repress the emotions which agitate us here. We are among the sepulchres of our fathers. We are on ground distinguished by their valor, their constancy, and the shedding of their blood. We are here, not to fix an uncertain date in our annals, nor to draw into notice an obscure and unknown spot. If our humble purpose had never been conceived, if we ourselves had never been born, the seventeenth of June, 1775, would have been a day on which all subsequent history would have poured its light, and the eminence where we stand, a point of attraction to the eyes of successive generations. But we are Americans. We live in what may be called the early age of this great continent; and we know that our posterity, through all time, are here to suffer and enjoy the allotments of humanity. We see before us a probable train of great events; we know that our own fortunes have been happily cast; and it is natural, therefore, that we should be moved by the contemplation of occurrences which have guided our destiny before many of us were born, and settled the condition in which we should pass that portion of our existence, which God allows to men on earth.

We do not read even of the discovery of this continent without feeling something of a personal interest in the event; without being reminded how much it has affected our own fortunes and our own existence. It is more impossible for us, therefore, than for others, to contemplate with unaffected minds that interesting, I may say, that most touching and pathetic scene, when the great discoverer of America stood on the deck of his shattered bark, the shades of night falling on the sea, yet no man sleeping; tossed on the billows of an unknown ocean, yet the stronger billows of alternate hope and despair tossing his own troubled thoughts; extending forward his harassed frame, straining westward his anxious and eager eyes, till heaven at last granted him a moment of rapture and ecstasy, in blessing his vision with the sight of the unknown world.

Nearer to our times, more closely connected with our fates, and therefore still more interesting to our feelings and affections, is the settlement of our own country by colonists from England. We cherish every memorial of these worthy ancestors; we celebrate their patience and fortitude; we admire their daring enterprise; we teach our children to venerate their piety; and we are justly proud of being descended from men who have set the world an example of founding civil institutions on the great and united principles of human freedom and human knowledge. To us, their children, the story of their labors and sufferings can never be without its interest. We shall not stand unmoved on the shore of Plymouth, while the sea continues to wash it; nor will our brethren, in another early and ancient colony, forget the place of its first establishment, till their river shall cease to flow by it. No vigor of youth, no maturity of manhood, will lead the nation to forget the spots where its infancy was cradled and defended.

But the great event, in the history of the continent, which we are now met here to commemorate; that prodigy of modern times, at once the wonder and the blessing of the world, is the American Revolution. In a day of extraordinary prosperity and happiness, of high national honor, distinction, and power, we are brought together, in this place, by our love of country, by our admiration of exalted character, by our gratitude for signal services and patriotic devotion.

The society, whose organ I am, was formed for the purpose of rearing some honorable and durable monument to the memory

of the early friends of American independence. They have thought that for this object no time could be more propitious than the present prosperous and peaceful period; that no place could claim preference over this memorable spot; and that no day could be more auspicious to the undertaking than the anniversary of the battle which was here fought. The foundation of that monument we have now laid. With solemnities suited to the occasion, with prayers to Almighty God for his blessing, and in the midst of this cloud of witnesses, we have begun the work. We trust it will be prosecuted, and that springing from a broad foundation rising high in massive solidity and unadorned grandeur it may remain as long as heaven permits the works of man to last, a fit emblem, both of the events in memory of which it is raised and of the gratitude of those who have reared it.

We know, indeed, that the record of illustrious actions is most safely deposited in the universal remembrance of mankind. We know that if we could cause this structure to ascend, not only till it reached the skies, but till it pierced them, its broad surfaces could still contain but part of that which, in an age of knowledge, hath already been spread over the earth, and which history charges itself with making known to all future times. We know that no inscription on entablatures less broad than the earth itself can carry information of the events we commemorate where it has not already gone; and that no structure which shall not outlive the duration of letters and knowledge among men, can prolong the memorial. But our object is by this edifice to show our own deep sense of the value and importance of the achievements of our ancestors; and by presenting this work of gratitude to the eye to keep alive similar sentiments and to foster a constant regard for the principles of the Revolution. Human beings are composed not of reason only, but of imagination also, and sentiment; and that is neither wasted nor misapplied which is appropriated to the purpose of giving right direction to sentiments and opening proper springs of feeling in the heart. Let it not be supposed that our object is to perpetuate national hostility, or even to cherish a mere military spirit. It is higher, purer, nobler. We consecrate our work to the spirit of national independence, and we wish that the light of peace may rest upon it forever. We rear a memorial of our conviction of that unmeasured benefit which has been conferred on our own land and of the happy influences which have been produced by the same

events on the general interests of mankind. We come as Americans to mark a spot which must forever be dear to us and our posterity. We wish that whosoever, in all coming time, shall turn his eye hither, may behold that the place is not undistinguished where the first great battle of the Revolution was fought. We wish that this structure may proclaim the magnitude and importance of that event to every class and every age. We wish that infancy may learn the purpose of its erection from maternal lips and that weary and withered age may behold it and be solaced by the recollections which it suggests. We wish that labor may look up here and be proud in the midst of its toil. We wish that in those days of disaster which, as they come on all nations, must be expected to come on us also, desponding patriotism may turn its eyes hitherward and be assured that the foundations of our national power still stand strong. We wish that this column rising towards heaven among the pointed spires of so many temples dedicated to God may contribute also to produce in all minds a pious feeling of dependence and gratitude. We wish, finally, that the last object on the sight of him who leaves his native shore, and the first to gladden his who revisits it, may be something which shall remind him of the liberty and the glory of his country. Let it rise till it meet the sun in his coming; let the earliest light of the morning gild it, and parting day linger and play on its summit.

We live in a most extraordinary age. Events so various and so important that they might crowd and distinguish centuries are in our times compressed within the compass of a single life. When has it happened that history has had so much to record in the same term of years as since the seventeenth of June, 1775? Our own revolution, which under other circumstances might itself have been expected to occasion a war of half a century, has been achieved; twenty-four sovereign and independent States erected; and a General Government established over them, so safe, so wise, so free, so practical, that we might well wonder its establishment should have been accomplished so soon were it not for the greater wonder that it should have been established at all. Two or three millions of people have been augmented to twelve; and the great forests of the West prostrated beneath the arm of successful industry; and the dwellers on the banks of the Ohio and the Mississippi become the fellow-citizens and neighbors of those who cultivate the hills of New England. We have a com-

merce that leaves no sea unexplored; navies which take no law from superior force; revenues adequate to all the exigencies of government, almost without taxation; and peace with all nations, founded on equal rights and mutual respect.

Europe, within the same period, has been agitated by a mighty revolution, which, while it has been felt in the individual condition and happiness of almost every man, has shaken to the centre her political fabric, and dashed against one another thrones which had stood tranquil for ages. On this, our continent, our own example has been followed; and colonies have sprung up to be nations. Unaccustomed sounds of liberty and free government have reached us from beyond the track of the sun; and at this moment the dominion of European power in this continent, from the place where we stand to the South pole, is annihilated forever.

In the meantime, both in Europe and America, such has been the general progress of knowledge; such the improvements in legislation, in commerce, in the arts, in letters, and, above all, in liberal ideas and the general spirit of the age, that the whole world seems changed.

Yet, notwithstanding that this is but a faint abstract of the things which have happened since the day of the battle of Bunker Hill, we are but fifty years removed from it; and we now stand here to enjoy all the blessings of our own condition, and to look abroad on the brightened prospects of the world, while we hold still among us some of those who were active agents in the scenes of 1775, and who are now here from every quarter of New England to visit once more, and under circumstances so affecting, I had almost said so overwhelming, this renowned theatre of their courage and patriotism.

Venerable men, you have come down to us from a former generation. Heaven has bounteously lengthened out your lives that you might behold this joyous day. You are now where you stood fifty years ago this very hour, with your brothers and your neighbors, shoulder to shoulder, in the strife for your country. Behold, how altered! The same heavens are, indeed, over your heads; the same ocean rolls at your feet; but all else, how changed! You hear now no roar of hostile cannon, you see no mixed volumes of smoke and flame rising from burning Charlestown. The ground strewed with the dead and the dying; the impetuous charge; the steady and successful repulse; the loud call

to repeated assault; the summoning of all that is manly to repeated resistance; a thousand bosoms freely and fearlessly bared in an instant to whatever of terror there may be in war and death; all these you have witnessed, but you witness them no more. All is peace. The heights of yonder metropolis, its towers and roofs which you then saw filled with wives and children and countrymen in distress and terror, and looking with unutterable emotions for the issue of the combat, have presented you to-day with the sight of its whole happy population come out to welcome and greet you with a universal jubilee. Yonder proud ships by a felicity of position appropriately lying at the foot of this mount, and seeming fondly to cling around it, are not means of annoyance to you, but your country's own means of distinction and defense. All is peace; and God has granted you this sight of your country's happiness ere you slumber in the grave forever. He has allowed you to behold and to partake the reward of your patriotic toils; and he has allowed us, your sons and countrymen, to meet you here, and in the name of the present generation, in the name of your country, in the name of liberty, to thank you!

But, alas! you are not all here! Time and the sword have thinned your ranks. Prescott, Putnam, Stark, Brooks, Read, Pomeroy, Bridge! our eyes seek for you in vain amidst this broken band. You are gathered to your fathers, and live only to your country in her grateful remembrance and your own bright example. But let us not too much grieve that you have met the common fate of men. You lived at least long enough to know that your work had been nobly and successfully accomplished. You lived to see your country's independence established and to sheathe your swords from war. On the light of Liberty you saw arise the light of Peace, like—

> "Another morn,
> Risen on mid-noon,"—

and the sky on which you closed your eyes was cloudless.

But—ah!—Him! the first great martyr in this great cause! Him! the premature victim of his own self-devoting heart! Him! the head of our civil councils and the destined leader of our military bands, whom nothing brought hither but the unquenchable fire of his own spirit; him! cut off by Providence in the hour of overwhelming anxiety and thick gloom; falling ere he saw the

star of his country rise; pouring out his generous blood like water before he knew whether it would fertilize a land of freedom or of bondage! how shall I struggle with the emotions that stifle the utterance of thy name! Our poor work may perish, but thine shall endure! This monument may molder away; the solid ground it rests upon may sink down to a level with the sea, but thy memory shall not fail! Wheresoever among men a heart shall be found that beats to the transports of patriotism and liberty, its aspirations shall be to claim kindred with thy spirit!

But the scene amidst which we stand does not permit us to confine our thoughts or our sympathies to those fearless spirits who hazarded or lost their lives on this consecrated spot. We have the happiness to rejoice here in the presence of a most worthy representation of the survivors of the whole Revolutionary army.

Veterans, you are the remnant of many a well-fought field. You bring with you marks of honor from Trenton and Monmouth, from Yorktown, Camden, Bennington, and Saratoga. Veterans of half a century, when in your youthful days you put everything at hazard in your country's cause, good as that cause was, and sanguine as youth is, still your fondest hopes did not stretch onward to an hour like this! At a period to which you could not reasonably have expected to arrive; at a moment of national prosperity, such as you could never have foreseen, you are now met here to enjoy the fellowship of old soldiers and to receive the overflowings of a universal gratitude.

But your agitated countenances and your heaving breasts inform me that even this is not an unmixed joy. I perceive that a tumult of contending feelings rushes upon you. The images of the dead, as well as the persons of the living, throng to your embraces. The scene overwhelms you, and I turn from it. May the Father of all mercies smile upon your declining years and bless them! And when you shall here have exchanged your embraces; when you shall once more have pressed the hands which have been so often extended to give succor in adversity, or grasped in the exultation of victory; then look abroad into this lovely land, which your young valor defended, and mark the happiness with which it is filled; yea, look abroad into the whole earth and see what a name you have contributed to give to your country, and what a praise you have added to freedom, and then rejoice in

the sympathy and gratitude which beam upon your last days from the improved condition of mankind.

The occasion does not require of me any particular account of the battle of the seventeenth of June, nor any detailed narrative of the events which immediately preceded it. These are familiarly known to all. In the progress of the great and interesting controversy, Massachusetts and the town of Boston had become early and marked objects of the displeasure of the British Parliament. This had been manifested in the act for altering the government of the Province, and in that for shutting up the port of Boston. Nothing sheds more honor on our early history, and nothing better shows how little the feelings and sentiments of the colonies were known or regarded in England than the impression which these measures everywhere produced in America. It had been anticipated that while the other colonies would be terrified by the severity of the punishment inflicted on Massachusetts, the other seaports would be governed by a mere spirit of gain; and that, as Boston was now cut off from all commerce, the unexpected advantage which this blow on her was calculated to confer on other towns would be greedily enjoyed. How miserably such reasoners deceived themselves! How little they knew of the depth, and the strength, and the intenseness of that feeling of resistance to illegal acts of power which possessed the whole American people! Everywhere the unworthy boon was rejected with scorn. The fortunate occasion was seized everywhere to show to the whole world that the colonies were swayed by no local interest, no partial interest, no selfish interest. The temptation to profit by the punishment of Boston was strongest to our neighbors of Salem. Yet Salem was precisely the place where this miserable proffer was spurned in a tone of the most lofty self-respect and the most indignant patriotism. "We are deeply affected," said its inhabitants, "with the sense of our public calamities; but the miseries that are now rapidly hastening on our brethren in the capital of the Province, greatly excite our commiseration. By shutting up the port of Boston some imagine that the course of trade might be turned hither, and to our benefit; but we must be dead to every idea of justice, lost to all feelings of humanity, could we indulge a thought to seize on wealth and raise our fortunes on the ruin of our suffering neighbors." These noble sentiments were not confined to our immediate vicinity. In that day of general affection and brotherhood, the

blow given to Boston smote on every patriotic heart, from one end of the country to the other. Virginia and the Carolinas, as well as Connecticut and New Hampshire, felt and proclaimed the cause to be their own. The Continental Congress, then holding its first session in Philadelphia, expressed its sympathy for the suffering inhabitants of Boston, and addresses were received from all quarters assuring them that the cause was a common one, and should be met by common efforts and common sacrifices. The Congress of Massachusetts responded to these assurances; and in an address to the Congress at Philadelphia, bearing the official signature, perhaps among the last of the immortal Warren, notwithstanding the severity of its suffering and the magnitude of the dangers which threatened it, it was declared that this colony «is ready, at all times, to spend and to be spent in the cause of America.»

But the hour drew nigh which was to put professions to the proof and to determine whether the authors of these mutual pledges were ready to seal them in blood. The tidings of Lexington and Concord had no sooner spread than it was universally felt that the time was at last come for action. A spirit pervaded all ranks, not transient, not boisterous, but deep, solemn, determined,—

«*Totamque infusa per artus*
Mens agitat molem, et magno se corpore miscet.»

War, on their own soil and at their own doors, was, indeed, a strange work to the yeomanry of New England; but their consciences were convinced of its necessity, their country called them to it and they did not withhold themselves from the perilous trial. The ordinary occupations of life were abandoned; the plow was staid in the unfinished furrow; wives gave up their husbands, and mothers gave up their sons to the battles of a civil war. Death might come, in honor, on the field; it might come, in disgrace, on the scaffold. For either and for both they were prepared. The sentiment of Quincy was full in their hearts. «Blandishments,» said that distinguished son of genius and patriotism, «will not fascinate us, nor will threats of a halter intimidate; for, under God, we are determined that wheresoever, whensoever, or howsoever we shall be called to make our exit, we will die free men.»

The seventeenth of June saw the four New England colonies standing here, side by side, to triumph or to fall together; and there was with them from that moment to the end of the war, what I hope will remain with them forever,—one cause, one country, one heart.

The battle of Bunker Hill was attended with the most important effects beyond its immediate result as a military engagement. It created at once a state of open, public war. There could now be no longer a question of proceeding against individuals as guilty of treason or rebellion. That fearful crisis was past. The appeal now lay to the sword, and the only question was whether the spirit and the resources of the people would hold out till the object should be accomplished. Nor were its general consequences confined to our own country. The previous proceedings of the colonies, their appeals, resolutions, and addresses had made their cause known to Europe. Without boasting, we may say that in no age or country has the public cause been maintained with more force of argument, more power of illustration, or more of that persuasion which excited feeling and elevated principle can alone bestow, than the revolutionary State papers exhibit. These papers will forever deserve to be studied, not only for the spirit which they breathe, but for the ability with which they were written.

To this able vindication of their cause, the colonies had now added a practical and severe proof of their own true devotion to it, and evidence also of the power which they could bring to its support. All now saw that if America fell, she would not fall without a struggle. Men felt sympathy and regard as well as surprise when they beheld these infant States, remote, unknown, unaided, encounter the power of England, and in the first considerable battle leave more of their enemies dead on the field, in proportion to the number of combatants, than they had recently known in the wars of Europe.

Information of these events circulating through Europe at length reached the ears of one who now hears me. He has not forgotten the emotion which the fame of Bunker Hill and the name of Warren excited in his youthful breast.

Sir, we are assembled to commemorate the establishment of great public principles of liberty, and to do honor to the distinguished dead. The occasion is too severe for eulogy to the living. But, sir, your interesting relation to this country, the

peculiar circumstances which surround you and surround us, call on me to express the happiness which we derive from your presence and aid in this solemn commemoration.

Fortunate, fortunate man! with what measure of devotion will you not thank God for the circumstances of your extraordinary life! You are connected with both hemispheres and with two generations. Heaven saw fit to ordain that the electric spark of liberty should be conducted, through you, from the New World to the Old; and we, who are now here to perform this duty of patriotism, have all of us long ago received it in charge from our fathers to cherish your name and your virtues. You will account it an instance of your good fortune, sir, that you crossed the seas to visit us at a time which enables you to be present at this solemnity. You now behold the field, the renown of which reached you in the heart of France, and caused a thrill in your ardent bosom. You see the lines of the little redoubt thrown up by the incredible diligence of Prescott; defended to the last extremity, by his lion-hearted valor; and within which the corner-stone of our monument has now taken its position. You see where Warren fell, and where Parker, Gardner, McCleary, Moore, and other early patriots fell with him. Those who survived that day, and whose lives have been prolonged to the present hour, are now around you. Some of them you have known in the trying scenes of the war. Behold! they now stretch forth their feeble arms to embrace you. Behold! they raise their trembling voices to invoke the blessing of God on you and yours forever.

Sir, you have assisted us in laying the foundation of this edifice. You have heard us rehearse, with our feeble commendation, the names of departed patriots. Sir, monuments and eulogy belong to the dead. We give them this day to Warren and his associates. On other occasions they have been given to your more immediate companions in arms, to Washington, to Greene, to Gates, Sullivan, and Lincoln. Sir, we have become reluctant to grant these, our highest and last honors, further. We would gladly hold them yet back from the little remnant of that immortal band. «*Serus in cælum redeas.*» Illustrious as are your merits, yet far, oh, very far distant be the day when any inscription shall bear your name, or any tongue pronounce its eulogy!

The leading reflection to which this occasion seems to invite us respects the great changes which have happened in the fifty years since the battle of Bunker Hill was fought. And it pecul-

iarly marks the character of the present age that, in looking at these changes and in estimating their effect on our condition, we are obliged to consider, not what has been done in our own country only, but in others also. In these interesting times, while nations are making separate and individual advances in improvement, they make, too, a common progress; like vessels on a common tide, propelled by the gales at different rates, according to their several structure and management, but all moved forward by one mighty current beneath, strong enough to bear onward whatever does not sink beneath it.

A chief distinction of the present day is a community of opinions and knowledge amongst men, in different nations, existing in a degree heretofore unknown. Knowledge has, in our time, triumphed, and is triumphing over distance, over difference of languages, over diversity of habits, over prejudice, and over bigotry. The civilized and Christian world is fast learning the great lesson, that difference of nation does not imply necessary hostility, and that all contact need not be war. The whole world is becoming a common field for intellect to act in. Energy of mind, genius, power, wheresoever it exists, may speak out in any tongue, and the world will hear it. A great chord of sentiment and feeling runs through two continents, and vibrates over both. Every breeze wafts intelligence from country to country; every wave rolls it; all give it forth, and all in turn receive it. There is a vast commerce of ideas; there are marts and exchanges for intellectual discoveries, and a wonderful fellowship of those individual intelligences which make up the mind and opinion of the age. Mind is the great lever of all things; human thought is the process by which human ends are ultimately answered; and the diffusion of knowledge, so astonishing in the last half-century, has rendered innumerable minds, variously gifted by nature, competent to be competitors, or fellow-workers, on the theatre of intellectual operation.

From these causes, important improvements have taken place in the personal condition of individuals. Generally speaking, mankind are not only better fed and better clothed, but they are able also to enjoy more leisure; they possess more refinement and more self-respect. A superior tone of education, manners, and habits prevails. This remark, most true in its application to our own country, is also partly true when applied elsewhere. It is proved by the vastly augmented consumption of those articles

of manufacture and of commerce which contribute to the comforts and the decencies of life,—an augmentation which has far outrun the progress of population. And while the unexampled and almost incredible use of machinery would seem to supply the place of labor, labor still finds its occupation and its reward; so wisely has Providence adjusted men's wants and desires to their condition and their capacity.

Any adequate survey, however, of the progress made in the last half century, in the polite and the mechanic arts, in machinery and manufactures, in commerce and agriculture, in letters, and in science, would require volumes. I must abstain wholly from these subjects, and turn, for a moment, to the contemplation of what has been done on the great question of politics and government. This is the master topic of the age; and during the whole fifty years, it has intensely occupied the thoughts of men. The nature of civil government, its ends and uses, have been canvassed and investigated; ancient opinions attacked and defended; new ideas recommended and resisted, by whatever power the mind of man could bring to the controversy. From the closet and the public halls the debate has been transferred to the field; and the world has been shaken by wars of unexampled magnitude, and the greatest variety of fortune. A day of peace has at length succeeded; and now that the strife has subsided, and the smoke cleared away, we may begin to see what has actually been done, permanently changing the state and condition of human society. And without dwelling on particular circumstances, it is most apparent that, from the before-mentioned causes of augmented knowledge and improved individual condition, a real, substantial, and important change has taken place, and is taking place, greatly beneficial, on the whole, to human liberty and human happiness.

The great wheel of political revolution began to move in America. Here its rotation was guarded, regular, and safe. Transferred to the other continent, from unfortunate but natural causes, it received an irregular and violent impulse; it whirled along with a fearful celerity, till at length, like the chariot wheels in the races of antiquity, it took fire from the rapidity of its own motion, and blazed onward, spreading conflagration and terror around.

We learn from the result of this experiment how fortunate was our own condition, and how admirably the character of our

people was calculated for making the great example of popular governments. The possession of power did not turn the heads of the American people, for they had long been in the habit of exercising a great portion of self-control. Although the paramount authority of the parent State existed over them, yet a large field of legislation had always been open to our colonial assemblies. They were accustomed to representative bodies and the forms of free government; they understood the doctrine of the division of power among different branches and the necessity of checks on each. The character of our countrymen, moreover, was sober, moral, and religious; and there was little in the change to shock their feelings of justice and humanity, or even to disturb an honest prejudice. We had no domestic throne to overturn, no privileged orders to cast down, no violent changes of property to encounter. In the American Revolution, no man sought or wished for more than to defend and enjoy his own. None hoped for plunder or for spoil. Rapacity was unknown to it; the ax was not among the instruments of its accomplishment; and we all know that it could not have lived a single day under any well-founded imputation of possessing a tendency adverse to the Christian religion.

It need not surprise us that, under circumstances less auspicious, political revolutions elsewhere, even when well intended, have terminated differently. It is, indeed, a great achievement, it is the master-work of the world, to establish governments entirely popular, on lasting foundations; nor is it easy, indeed, to introduce the popular principle at all into governments to which it has been altogether a stranger. It cannot be doubted, however, that Europe has come out of the contest, in which she has been so long engaged, with greatly superior knowledge, and, in many respects, a highly improved condition. Whatever benefit has been acquired is likely to be retained, for it consists mainly in the acquisition of more enlightened ideas. And although kingdoms and provinces may be wrested from the hands that hold them, in the same manner they were obtained; although ordinary and vulgar power may, in human affairs, be lost as it has been won, yet it is the glorious prerogative of the empire of knowledge, that what it gains it never loses. On the contrary, it increases by the multiple of its own power; all its ends become means; all its attainments help to new conquests. Its whole abundant harvest is but so much seed wheat, and nothing has

ascertained, and nothing can ascertain, the amount of ultimate product.

Under the influence of this rapidly-increasing knowledge, the people have begun, in all forms of government, to think and to reason on affairs of state. Regarding government as an institution for the public good, they demand a knowledge of its operations and a participation in its exercise. A call for the representative system, wherever it is not enjoyed, and where there is already intelligence enough to estimate its value, is perseveringly made. Where men may speak out, they demand it; where the bayonet is at their throats, they pray for it.

When Louis XIV. said: "I am the state," he expressed the essence of the doctrine of unlimited power. By the rules of that system, the people are disconnected from the state; they are its subjects; it is their lord. These ideas, founded in the love of power, and long supported by the excess and the abuse of it, are yielding in our age to other opinions; and the civilized world seems at last to be proceeding to the conviction of that fundamental and manifest truth, that the powers of government are but a trust, and that they cannot be lawfully exercised but for the good of the community. As knowledge is more and more extended, this conviction becomes more and more general. Knowledge, in truth, is the great sun in the firmament. Life and power are scattered with all its beams. The prayer of the Grecian combatant, when enveloped in unnatural clouds and darkness, is the appropriate political supplication for the people of every country not yet blessed with free institutions:—

> "Dispel this cloud, the light of heaven restore;
> Give me to see — and Ajax asks no more."

We may hope that the growing influence of enlightened sentiments will promote the permanent peace of the world. Wars, to maintain family alliances, to uphold or to cast down dynasties, to regulate successions to thrones, which have occupied so much room in the history of modern times, if not less likely to happen at all, will be less likely to become general and involve many nations, as the great principle shall be more and more established, that the interest of the world is peace, and its first great statute, that every nation possesses the power of establishing a government for itself. But public opinion has attained also an influence over governments which do not admit the popular principle into

their organization. A necessary respect for the judgment of the world operates, in some measure, as a control over the most unlimited forms of authority. It is owing, perhaps, to this truth, that the interesting struggle of the Greeks has been suffered to go on so long, without a direct interference, either to wrest that country from its present masters, and add it to other powers, or to execute the system of pacification by force, and, with united strength, lay the neck of Christian and civilized Greece at the foot of the barbarian Turk. Let us thank God that we live in an age when something has influence besides the bayonet, and when the sternest authority does not venture to encounter the scorching power of public reproach. Any attempt of the kind I have mentioned should be met by one universal burst of indignation; the air of the civilized world ought to be made too warm to be comfortably breathed by any who would hazard it.

It is, indeed, a touching reflection, that while, in the fullness of our country's happiness, we rear this monument to her honor, we look for instruction in our undertaking, to a country which is now in fearful contest, not for works of art or memorials of glory, but for her own existence. Let her be assured that she is not forgotten in the world; that her efforts are applauded, and that constant prayers ascend for her success. And let us cherish a confident hope for her final triumph. If the true spark of religious and civil liberty be kindled, it will burn. Human agency cannot extinguish it. Like the earth's central fire, it may be smothered for a time; the ocean may overwhelm it; mountains may press it down; but its inherent and unconquerable force will heave both the ocean and the land, and at some time or another, in some place or another, the volcano will break out and flame up to heaven.

Among the great events of the half-century, we must reckon, certainly, the revolution of South America; and we are not likely to overrate the importance of that revolution, either to the people of the country itself or to the rest of the world. The late Spanish colonies, now independent States, under circumstances less favorable, doubtless, than attended our own revolution, have yet successfully commenced their national existence. They have accomplished the great object of establishing their independence; they are known and acknowledged in the world; and, although in regard to their systems of government, their sentiments on religious toleration, and their provisions for public instruction, they

may have yet much to learn, it must be admitted that they have risen to the condition of settled and established States more rapidly than could have been reasonably anticipated. They already furnish an exhilarating example of the difference between free governments and despotic misrule. Their commerce at this moment creates a new activity in all the great marts of the world. They show themselves able by an exchange of commodities to bear a useful part in the intercourse of nations. A new spirit of enterprise and industry begins to prevail; all the great interests of society receive a salutary impulse; and the progress of information, not only testifies to an improved condition, but constitutes itself the highest and most essential improvement.

When the battle of Bunker Hill was fought, the existence of South America was scarcely felt in the civilized world. The thirteen little colonies of North America habitually called themselves the "Continent." Borne down by colonial subjugation, monopoly, and bigotry, these vast regions of the South were hardly visible above the horizon. But in our day there hath been, as it were, a new creation. The Southern Hemisphere emerges from the sea. Its lofty mountains begin to lift themselves into the light of heaven; its broad and fertile plains stretch out in beauty to the eye of civilized man and at the mighty being of the voice of political liberty, the waters of darkness retire.

And now let us indulge an honest exultation in the conviction of the benefit which the example of our country has produced and is likely to produce on human freedom and human happiness. And let us endeavor to comprehend in all its magnitude and to feel in all its importance the part assigned to us in the great drama of human affairs. We are placed at the head of the system of representative and popular governments. Thus far our example shows that such governments are compatible, not only with respectability and power, but with repose, with peace, with security of personal rights, with good laws and a just administration.

We are not propagandists. Wherever other systems are preferred, either as being thought better in themselves or as better suited to existing conditions, we leave the preference to be enjoyed. Our history hitherto proves, however, that the popular form is practicable and that, with wisdom and knowledge, men may govern themselves; and the duty incumbent on us is to preserve the consistency of this cheering example and take care

that nothing may weaken its authority with the world. If in our case the representative system ultimately fail, popular governments must be pronounced impossible. No combination of circumstances more favorable to the experiment can ever be expected to occur. The last hopes of mankind, therefore, rest with us; and if it should be proclaimed that our example had become an argument against the experiment, the knell of popular liberty would be sounded throughout the earth.

These are incitements to duty; but they are not suggestions of doubt. Our history and our condition, all that is gone before us and all that surrounds us, authorize the belief that popular governments, though subject to occasional variations, perhaps not always for the better in form, may yet in their general character be as durable and permanent as other systems. We know, indeed, that in our country any other is impossible. The principle of free governments adheres to the American soil. It is bedded in it — immovable as its mountains.

And let the sacred obligations which have devolved on this generation and on us sink deep into our hearts. Those are daily dropping from among us who established our liberty and our government. The great trust now descends to new hands. Let us apply ourselves to that which is presented to us as our appropriate object. We can win no laurels in a war for independence. Earlier and worthier hands have gathered them all. Nor are there places for us by the side of Solon, and Alfred, and other founders of states. Our fathers have filled them. But there remains to us a great duty of defense and preservation; and there is opened to us also a noble pursuit to which the spirit of the times strongly invites us. Our proper business is improvement. Let our age be the age of improvement. In a day of peace let us advance the arts of peace and the works of peace. Let us develop the resources of our land, call forth its powers, build up its institutions, promote all its great interests, and see whether we also, in our day and generation, may not perform something worthy to be remembered. Let us cultivate a true spirit of union and harmony. In pursuing the great objects which our condition points out to us, let us act under a settled conviction, and a habitual feeling that these twenty-four States are one country. Let our conceptions be enlarged to the circle of our duties. Let us extend our ideas over the whole of the vast field in which we are called to act. Let our object be our country, our

whole country, and nothing but our country. And by the blessing of God may that country itself become a vast and splendid monument, not of oppression and terror, but of wisdom, of peace, and of liberty, upon which the world may gaze with admiration, forever.

AT PLYMOUTH IN 1820

(From the Discourse in Commemoration of the First Settlement of New England, Delivered at Plymouth, December 22d, 1820)

THERE may be, and there often is, indeed, a regard for ancestry, which nourishes only a weak pride; as there is also a care for posterity, which only disguises a habitual avarice, or hides the workings of a low and groveling vanity. But there is also a moral and philosophical respect for our ancestors, which elevates the character and improves the heart. Next to the sense of religious duty and moral feeling, I hardly know what should bear with stronger obligation on a liberal and enlightened mind than a consciousness of alliance with excellence which is departed; and a consciousness, too, that in its acts and conduct, and even in its sentiments and thoughts, it may be actively operating on the happiness of those who come after it. Poetry is found to have few stronger conceptions, by which it would affect or overwhelm the mind, than those in which it presents the moving and speaking image of the departed dead to the senses of the living. This belongs to poetry, only because it is congenial to our nature. Poetry is, in this respect, but the handmaid of true philosophy and morality; it deals with us as human beings, naturally reverencing those whose visible connection with this state of existence is severed, and who may yet exercise we know not what sympathy with ourselves; and when it carries us forward also, and shows us the long-continued result of all the good we do, in the prosperity of those who follow us, till it bears us from ourselves, and absorbs us in an intense interest for what shall happen to the generations after us,—it speaks only in the language of our nature, and affects us with sentiments which belong to us as human beings.

Standing in this relation to our ancestors and our posterity, we are assembled on this memorable spot, to perform the duties which that relation and the present occasion impose upon us. We have come to this Rock, to record here our homage for our

PLYMOUTH ROCK WITH ITS CANOPY.

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Pilgrim Fathers; our sympathy in their sufferings; our gratitude for their labors; our admiration of their virtues; our veneration for their piety; and our attachment to those principles of civil and religious liberty which they encountered the dangers of the ocean, the storms of heaven, the violence of savages, disease, exile, and famine, to enjoy and establish. And we would leave here also, for the generations which are rising up rapidly to fill our places, some proof that we have endeavored to transmit the great inheritance unimpaired; that in our estimate of public principles and private virtue, in our veneration of religion and piety, in our devotion to religious and civil liberty, in our regard to whatever advances human knowledge or improves happiness, we are not altogether unworthy of our origin. . . .

The hours of this day are rapidly flying, and this occasion will soon be passed. Neither we nor our children can expect to behold its return. They are in the distant regions of futurity; they exist only in the all-creating power of God, who shall stand here a hundred years hence, to trace, through us, their descent from the Pilgrims, and to survey, as we have now surveyed, the progress of their country during the lapse of a century. We would anticipate their concurrence with us in our sentiments of deep regard for our common ancestors. We would anticipate and partake the pleasure with which they will then recount the steps of New England's advancement. On the morning of that day, although it will not disturb us in our repose, the voice of acclamation and gratitude, commencing on the Rock of Plymouth, shall be transmitted through millions of the sons of the Pilgrims, till it lose itself in the murmurs of the Pacific seas.

We would leave for the consideration of those who shall then occupy our places some proof that we hold the blessings transmitted from our fathers in just estimation; some proof of our attachment to the cause of good government and of civil and religious liberty; some proof of a sincere and ardent desire to promote everything which may enlarge the understandings and improve the hearts of men. And when, from the long distance of a hundred years, they shall look back upon us, they shall know at least that we possessed affections, which, running backward and warming with gratitude for what our ancestors have done for our happiness, run forward also to our posterity, and meet them with cordial salutation, ere yet they have arrived on the shore of being.

Advance, then, ye future generations! We would hail you, as you rise in your long succession, to fill the places which we now fill, and to taste the blessings of existence where we are now passing, and soon shall have passed, our own human duration. We bid you welcome to this pleasant land of the fathers. We bid you welcome to the healthful skies and the verdant fields of New England. We greet your accession to the great inheritance which we have enjoyed. We welcome you to the blessings of good government and religious liberty. We welcome you to the treasures of science and the delights of learning. We welcome you to the transcendent sweets of domestic life, to the happiness of kindred, and parents, and children. We welcome you to the immeasurable blessings of rational existence, the immortal hope of Christianity, and the light of everlasting truth!

ADAMS AND JEFFERSON

(From the Oration Delivered in Faneuil Hall, Boston, August 2d, 1826)

THIS is an unaccustomed spectacle. For the first time, fellow-citizens, badges of mourning shroud the columns and overhang the arches of this hall. These walls, which were consecrated so long ago to the cause of American liberty, which witnessed her infant struggles, and rung with the shouts of her earliest victories, proclaim now that distinguished friends and champions of the great cause have fallen. It is right that it should be thus. The tears which flow, and the honors that are paid when the founders of the Republic die, give hope that the Republic itself may be immortal. It is fit that by public assembly and solemn observance, by anthem and by eulogy, we commemorate the services of national benefactors, extol their virtues, and render thanks to God for eminent blessings early given and long-continued to our favored country.

Adams and Jefferson are no more; and we are assembled, fellow-citizens — the aged, the middle-aged, and the young — by the spontaneous impulse of all, under the authority of the municipal government, with the presence of the Chief Magistrate of the Commonwealth, and others its official representatives, the university, and the learned societies, to bear our part in those manifestations of respect and gratitude which universally pervade

the land. Adams and Jefferson are no more. On our fiftieth anniversary, the great day of national jubilee, in the very hour of public rejoicing, in the midst of echoing and re-echoing voices of thanksgiving, while their own names were on all tongues, they took their flight together to the world of spirits.

If it be true that no one can safely be pronounced happy while he lives; if that event which terminates life can alone crown its honors and its glory, what felicity is here! The great epic of their lives, how happily concluded! Poetry itself has hardly closed illustrious lives and finished the career of earthly renown by such a consummation. If we had the power, we could not wish to reverse this dispensation of the Divine Providence. The great objects of life were accomplished; the drama was ready to be closed; it has closed; our patriots have fallen; but so fallen at such age, with such coincidence on such a day, that we cannot rationally lament that that end has come which we knew could not be long deferred. Neither of these great men, fellow-citizens, could have died at any time without leaving an immense void in our American society. They have been so intimately and for so long a time blended with the history of the country, and especially so united in our thoughts and recollections with the events of the Revolution, that the death of either would have touched the strings of public sympathy. We should have felt that one great link connecting us with former times was broken; that we had lost something more, as it were, of the presence of the Revolution itself and of the act of independence, and were driven on by another great remove from the days of our country's early distinction to meet posterity and to mix with the future. Like the mariner whom the ocean and the winds carry along till he sees the stars which have directed his course, and lighted his pathless way, descend one by one beneath the rising horizon, we should have felt that the stream of time had borne us onward till another great luminary whose light had cheered us, and whose guidance we had followed, had sunk away from our sight.

But the concurrence of their death on the anniversary of independence has naturally awakened stronger emotions. Both had been Presidents; both had lived to great age; both were early patriots; and both were distinguished and even honored by their immediate agency in the act of independence. It cannot but seem striking and extraordinary that these two should live to see the fiftieth year from the date of that act; that they should

complete that year; and that then, on the day which had fast linked forever their own fame with their country's glory, the heavens should open to receive them both at once. As their lives themselves were the gifts of Providence, who is not willing to recognize in their happy termination, as well as in their long continuance, proofs that our country and its benefactors are objects of his care? . . .

We are not assembled, therefore, fellow-citizens, as men overwhelmed with calamity by the sudden disruption of the ties of friendship or affection, or as in despair for the Republic, by the untimely blighting of its hopes. Death has not surprised us by an unseasonable blow. We have, indeed, seen the tomb close, but it has closed only over mature years, over long-protracted public service, over the weakness of age, and over life itself only when the ends of living had been fulfilled. These suns, as they rose slowly, and steadily, amidst clouds and storms, in their ascendant, so they have not rushed from their meridian to sink suddenly in the west. Like the mildness, the serenity, the continuing benignity of a summer's day, they have gone down with slow-descending, grateful, long-lingering light, and now that they are beyond the visible margin of the world, good omens cheer us from "the bright track of their fiery car."

There were many points of similarity in the lives and fortunes of these great men. They belonged to the same profession, and had pursued its studies and its practice, for unequal lengths of time indeed, but with diligence and effect. Both were learned and able lawyers. They were natives and inhabitants, respectively, of those two of the colonies, which, at the Revolution, were the largest and most powerful, and which naturally had a lead in the political affairs of the times. When the colonies became, in some degree, united, by the assembling of a general congress, they were brought to act together, in its deliberations, not indeed at the same time, but both at early periods. Each had already manifested his attachment to the cause of the country, as well as his ability to maintain it, by printed addresses, public speeches, extensive correspondence, and whatever other mode could be adopted, for the purpose of exposing the encroachments of the British Parliament and animating the people to a manly resistance. Both were not only decided, but early friends of independence. While others yet doubted, they were resolved; while others hesitated, they pressed forward. They

were both members of the committee for preparing the Declaration of Independence, and they constituted the subcommittee, appointed by the other members to make the draught. They left their seats in Congress, being called to other public employments, at periods not remote from each other, although one of them returned to it, afterwards, for a short time. Neither of them was of the assembly of great men which formed the present Constitution, and neither was at any time Member of Congress under its provisions. Both have been public ministers abroad, both Vice-Presidents, and both Presidents. These coincidences are now singularly crowned and completed. They have died together; and they died on the anniversary of liberty.

When many of us were last in this place, fellow-citizens, it was on the day of that anniversary. We were met to enjoy the festivities belonging to the occasion, and to manifest our grateful homage to our political fathers.

We did not, we could not here, forget our venerable neighbor of Quincy. We knew that we were standing, at a time of high and palmy prosperity, where he had stood in the hour of utmost peril; that we saw nothing but liberty and security, where he had met the frown of power; that we were enjoying everything, where he had hazarded everything; and just and sincere plaudits rose to his name, from the crowds which filled this area and hung over these galleries. He whose grateful duty it was to speak to us, on that day, of the virtues of our fathers, had, indeed, admonished us that time and years were about to level his venerable frame with the dust. But he bade us hope, that the "sound of a nation's joy, rushing from our cities, ringing from our valleys, echoing from our hills, might yet break the silence of his aged ear; that the rising blessings of grateful millions might yet visit, with glad light, his decaying vision." Alas! that vision was then closing forever. Alas! the silence which was then settling on that aged ear was an everlasting silence! For, lo! in the very moment of our festivities, his freed spirit ascended to God who gave it! Human aid and human solace terminate at the grave; or we would gladly have borne him upward, on a nation's outspread hands; we would have accompanied him, and with the blessings of millions, and the prayers of millions, commended him to the Divine favor. . . .

The eloquence of Mr. Adams resembled his general character, and formed, indeed, a part of it. It was bold, manly, and ener-

getic; and such the crisis required. When public bodies are to be addressed on momentous occasions, when great interests are at stake and strong passions excited, nothing is valuable in speech further than it is connected with high intellectual and moral endowments. Clearness, force, and earnestness are the qualities which produce conviction. True eloquence, indeed, does not consist in speech. It cannot be brought from far. Labor and learning may toil for it; but they will toil in vain. Words and phrases may be marshaled in every way; but they cannot compass it. It must exist in the man, in the subject, and in the occasion. Affected passion, intense expression, the pomp of declamation, all may aspire after it — they cannot reach it. It comes, if it come at all, like the outbreaking of a fountain from the earth, or the bursting forth of volcanic fires, with spontaneous, original, native force. The graces taught in the schools, the costly ornaments, and studied contrivances of speech, shock and disgust men, when their own lives, and the fate of their wives, their children, and their country, hang on the decision of the hour. Then, words have lost their power, rhetoric is vain, and all elaborate oratory contemptible. Even genius itself then feels rebuked and subdued, as in the presence of higher qualities. Then patriotism is eloquent; then self-devotion is eloquent. The clear conception, outrunning the deductions of logic,— the high purpose,— the firm resolve,— the dauntless spirit, speaking on the tongue, beaming from the eye, informing every feature, and urging the whole man onward, right onward, to his object,— this, this is eloquence; or, rather, it is something greater and higher than all eloquence,— it is action, noble, sublime, godlike action.

In July 1776 the controversy had passed the stage of argument. An appeal had been made to force, and opposing armies were in the field. Congress then was to decide whether the tie which had so long bound us to the parent state was to be severed at once and severed forever. All the colonies had signified their resolution to abide by this decision, and the people looked for it with the most intense anxiety. And surely, fellow-citizens, never, never were men called to a more important political deliberation. If we contemplate it from the point where they then stood, no question could be more full of interest; if we look at it now, and judge of its importance by its effects, it appears in still greater magnitude.

Let us, then, bring before us the assembly, which was about to decide a question thus big with the fate of empire. Let us open their doors, and look in upon their deliberations. Let us survey the anxious and careworn countenances — let us hear the firm-toned voices of this band of patriots.

Hancock presides over this solemn sitting; and one of those not yet prepared to pronounce for absolute independence is on the floor and is urging his reasons for dissenting from the Declaration: —

"Let us pause! This step, once taken, cannot be retraced. This resolution, once passed, will cut off all hope of reconciliation. If success attend the arms of England, we shall then be no longer colonies, with charters and with privileges. These will all be forfeited by this act; and we shall be in the condition of other conquered people — at the mercy of the conquerors. For ourselves, we may be ready to run the hazard; but are we ready to carry the country to that length? Is success so probable as to justify it? Where is the military, where the naval, power, by which we are to resist the whole strength of the arm of England? for she will exert that strength to the utmost. Can we rely on the constancy and perseverance of the people? — or will they not act as the people of other countries have acted, and, wearied with a long war, submit, in the end, to a worse oppression? While we stand on our old ground, and insist on redress of grievances, we know we are right, and are not answerable for consequences. Nothing, then, can be imputable to us. But if we now change our object, carry our pretensions further, and set up for absolute independence, we shall lose the sympathy of mankind. We shall no longer be defending what we possess, but struggling for something which we never did possess, and which we have solemnly and uniformly disclaimed all intention of pursuing, from the very outset of the troubles. Abandoning thus our old ground, of resistance only to arbitrary acts of oppression, the nations will believe the whole to have been mere pretense, and they will look on us, not as injured, but as ambitious subjects. I shudder before this responsibility. It will be on us, if, relinquishing the ground we have stood on so long, and stood on so safely, we now proclaim independence, and carry on the war for that object, while these cities burn, these pleasant fields whiten and bleach with the bones of their owners, and these streams run blood. It will be upon us, it will be upon us, if failing to maintain this unseasonable and ill-judged Declaration, a sterner despotism, maintained by military power, shall be established over our posterity, when we ourselves, given up by an

exhausted, a harassed, a misled people, shall have expiated our rashness and atoned for our presumption on the scaffold."

It was for Mr. Adams to reply to arguments like these. We know his opinions, and we know his character. He would commence with his accustomed directness and earnestness.

"Sink or swim, live or die, survive or perish, I give my hand and my heart to this vote. It is true, indeed, that in the beginning we aimed not at independence. But there's a divinity which shapes our ends. The injustice of England has driven us to arms; and, blinded to her own interest, for our good, she has obstinately persisted, till independence is now within our grasp. We have but to reach forth to it, and it is ours. Why, then, should we defer the Declaration? Is any man so weak as now to hope for a reconciliation with England, which shall leave either safety to the country and its liberties, or safety to his own life and his own honor? Are not you, sir, who sit in that chair,—is not he, our venerable colleague near you,—are you not both already the proscribed and predestined objects of punishment and of vengeance? Cut off from all hope of royal clemency, what are you, what can you be, while the power of England remains, but outlaws? If we postpone independence, do we mean to carry on, or to give up, the war? Do we mean to submit to the measures of Parliament, Boston Port Bill and all? Do we mean to submit, and consent that we ourselves shall be ground to powder, and our country and its rights trodden down in the dust? I know we do not mean to submit. We never shall submit. Do we intend to violate that most solemn obligation ever entered into by men—that plighting, before God, of our sacred honor to Washington, when, putting him forth to incur the dangers of war, as well as the political hazards of the times, we promised to adhere to him, in every extremity, with our fortunes and our lives? I know there is not a man here who would not rather see a general conflagration sweep over the land, or an earthquake sink it, than one jot or tittle of that plighted faith fall to the ground. For myself, having twelve months ago in this place moved you that George Washington be appointed commander of the forces, raised or to be raised, for defense of American liberty, may my right hand forget her cunning, and my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth, if I hesitate or waver in the support I give him. The war, then, must go on. We must fight it through. And, if the war must go on, why put off longer the Declaration of Independence? That measure will strengthen us. It will give us character abroad. The nations will then treat with us,

which they never can do while we acknowledge ourselves subjects in arms against our sovereign. Nay, I maintain that England herself will sooner treat for peace with us on the footing of independence, than consent, by repealing her acts, to acknowledge that her whole conduct towards us has been a course of injustice and oppression. Her pride will be less wounded by submitting to that course of things which now predestinates our independence, than by yielding the points in controversy to her rebellious subjects. The former she would regard as the result of fortune; the latter she would feel as her own deep disgrace. Why, then — why, then, sir, do we not, as soon as possible, change this from a civil to a national war? And since we must fight it through, why not put ourselves in a state to enjoy all the benefits of victory, if we gain the victory?

"If we fail, it can be no worse for us. But we shall not fail. The cause will raise up armies; the cause will create navies. The people — the people, if we are true to them, will carry us, and will carry themselves, gloriously through this struggle. I care not how fickle other people have been found. I know the people of these colonies, and I know that resistance to British aggression is deep and settled in their hearts and cannot be eradicated. Every colony, indeed, has expressed its willingness to follow, if we but take the lead. Sir, the Declaration will inspire the people with increased courage. Instead of a long and bloody war for restoration of privileges, for redress of grievances, for chartered immunities, held under a British king, set before them the glorious object of entire independence, and it will breathe into them anew the breath of life. Read this Declaration at the head of the army; every sword will be drawn from its scabbard, and the solemn vow uttered to maintain it, or to perish on the bed of honor. Publish it from the pulpit; religion will approve it, and the love of religious liberty will cling round it, resolved to stand with it, or fall with it. Send it to the public halls; proclaim it there; let them hear it, who heard the first roar of the enemy's cannon; let them see it, who saw their brothers and their sons fall on the field of Bunker Hill, and in the streets of Lexington and Concord, and the very walls will cry out in its support.

"Sir, I know the uncertainty of human affairs, but I see, I see clearly, through this day's business. You and I, indeed, may rue it. We may not live to the time when this Declaration shall be made good. We may die; die, colonists; die, slaves; die, it may be, ignominiously and on the scaffold. Be it so. Be it so. If it be the pleasure of heaven that my country shall require the poor offering of my life, the victim shall be ready at the appointed hour of sacrifice, come when that hour may. But while I do live, let me have a country, or at least the hope of a country, and that a free country.

"But, whatever may be our fate, be assured, be assured, that this Declaration will stand. It may cost treasure, and it may cost blood; but it will stand, and it will richly compensate for both. Through the thick gloom of the present I see the brightness of the future as the sun in heaven. We shall make this a glorious, an immortal day. When we are in our graves, our children will honor it. They will celebrate it with thanksgiving, with festivity, with bonfires, and illuminations. On its annual return they will shed tears, copious, gushing tears, not of subjection and slavery, not of agony and distress, but of exultation, of gratitude, and of joy. Sir, before God, I believe the hour has come. My judgment approves this measure, and my whole heart is in it. All that I have, and all that I am, and all that I hope, in this life, I am now ready here to stake upon it; and I leave off as I began, that, live or die, survive or perish, I am for the Declaration. It is my living sentiment, and, by the blessing of God, it shall be my dying sentiment; independence now, and independence forever."

And so that day shall be honored, illustrious prophet and patriot! so that day shall be honored, and, as often as it returns, thy renown shall come along with it, and the glory of thy life, like the day of thy death, shall not fail from the remembrance of men.

PROGRESS OF THE MECHANIC ARTS

(Delivered Before the Boston Mechanics' Institution, 1828)

HUMAN sagacity, stimulated by human wants, seizes first on the nearest natural assistant. The power of his own arm is an early lesson among the studies of primitive man. This is animal strength; and from this he rises to the conception of employing for his own use the strength of other animals. A stone impelled by the power of his arm he finds will produce a greater effect than the arm itself; this is a species of mechanical power. The effect results from a combination of the moving force with the gravity of a heavy body. The limb of a tree is a rude but powerful instrument; it is a lever. And the mechanical power being all discovered, like other natural qualities, by induction (I use the word as Bacon used it), or experience, and not by any reasoning *a priori*, their progress has kept pace with the general civilization and education of nations. The history of mechanical

philosophy, while it strongly illustrates in its general results the force of the human mind, exhibits in its details most interesting pictures of ingenuity struggling with the conception of new combinations, and of deep, intense, and powerful thought stretched to its utmost to find out, or deduce, the general principle from the indications of particular facts. We are now so far advanced beyond the age when the principal, leading, important mathematical discoveries were made, and they have become so much a matter of common knowledge that it is not easy to feel their importance, or be justly sensible what an epoch in the history of science each constituted. The half-frantic exultation of Archimedes when he had solved the problem respecting the crown of Hiero was on an occasion and for a cause certainly well allowing very high joy. . . .

The Ancients knew nothing of our present system of arithmetical notation; nothing of algebra, and, of course, nothing of the important application of algebra to geometry. They had not learned the use of logarithms and were ignorant of fluxions. They had not attained to any just method for the mensuration of the earth, a matter of great moment to astronomy, navigation, and other branches of useful knowledge. It is scarcely necessary to add that they were ignorant of the great results which have followed the development of the principle of gravitation.

In the useful and practical arts many inventions and contrivances to the production of which the degree of ancient knowledge would appear to us to have been adequate and which seem quite obvious are yet of late origin. The application of water, for example, to turn a mill, is a thing not known to have been accomplished at all in Greece, and is not supposed to have been attempted at Rome till in or near the age of Augustus. The production of the same effect by wind is a still later invention. It dates only in the seventh century of our era. The propulsion of the saw by any other power than that of the arm is treated as a novelty in England so late as in the middle of the sixteenth century. The Bishop of Ely, embassador from the Queen of England to the Pope, says he saw "at Lyons, a sawmill driven with an upright wheel, and the water that makes it go is gathered into a narrow trough which delivereth the same water to the wheels. This wheel hath a piece of timber put to the axletree and like the handle of a *broch* (a hand organ), and fastened to the end of the saw, which being turned with the force of

water hoisteth up the saw that it continually eateth in, and the handle of the same is kept in a rigall of wood from severing. Also the timber lieth, as it were, upon a ladder which is brought by little and little to the saw by another vice." From this description of the primitive power-saw it would seem that it was probably fast only at one end and that the *brock* and rigall performed the part of the arm in the common use of the hand-saw.

It must always have been a very considerable object for men to possess, or obtain, the power of raising water otherwise than by mere manual labor. Yet nothing like the common suction pump has been found among rude nations. It has arrived at its present state only by slow and doubtful steps of improvement; and, indeed, in that present state, however obvious and unattractive, it is something of an abstruse and refined invention. It was unknown in China until Europeans visited the "Celestial Empire"; and is still unknown in other parts of Asia, beyond the pale of European settlements, or the reach of European communication. The Greeks and Romans are supposed to have been ignorant of it in the early times of their history; and it is usually said to have come from Alexandria, where physical science was much cultivated by the Greek school, under the patronage of the Ptolemies.

These few and scattered historical notices of important inventions have been introduced only for the purpose of suggesting that there is much which is both curious and instructive in the history of mechanics; and that many things which to us, in our state of knowledge, seem so obvious that we should think they would at once force themselves on men's adoption, have, nevertheless, been accomplished slowly, and by painful efforts.

But if the history of the progress of the mechanical arts be interesting, still more so, doubtless, would be the exhibition of their present state, and a full display of the extent to which they are now carried. The slightest glance must convince us that mechanical power and mechanical skill, as they are now exhibited in Europe and America, mark an epoch in human history worthy of all admiration. Machinery is made to perform what has formerly been the toil of human hands, to an extent that astonishes the most sanguine, with a degree of power to which no number of human arms is equal, and with such precision and exactness as almost to suggest the notion of reason and intelligence in the machines themselves. Every natural agent is put unrelentingly

to the task. The winds work, the waters work, the elasticity of metals work; gravity is solicited into a thousand new forms of action; levers are multiplied upon levers; wheels revolve upon the peripheries of other wheels. The saw and the plane are tortured into an accommodation to new uses; and, last of all, with inimitable power, and "with whirlwind sound," comes the potent agency of steam. In comparison with the past, what centuries of improvement has this single agent comprised in the short compass of fifty years! Everywhere practicable, everywhere efficient, it has an arm a thousand times stronger than that of Hercules, and to which human ingenuity is capable of fitting a thousand times as many heads as belonged to Briareus. Steam is found in triumphant operation on the seas; and under the influence of its strong propulsion the gallant ship—

> "Against the wind, against the tide,
> Still steadies with an upright keel."

It is on the rivers that the boatman may repose on his oars; it is in highways, and exerts itself along the courses of land conveyance; it is at the bottom of mines, a thousand feet below the earth's surface; it is in the mill, and in the workshops of trade. It rows, it pumps, it excavates, it carries, it draws, it lifts, it hammers, it spins, it weaves, it prints. It seems to say to men, at least to the class of artisans: "Leave off your manual labor, give over your bodily toil; bestow but your skill and reason to the directing of my power, and I will bear the toil,—with no muscle to grow weary, no nerve to relax, no breast to feel faintness." What further improvements may still be made in the use of this astonishing power it is impossible to know, and it were vain to conjecture. What we do know is that it has most essentially altered the face of affairs, and that no visible limit yet appears beyond which its progress is seen to be impossible. If its power were now to be annihilated, if we were to miss it on the water and in the mills, it would seem as if we were going back to the rude ages.

DARTMOUTH COLLEGE *VERSUS* WOODWARD—ON THE OBLIGATION OF CONTRACTS

(From the Speech Delivered in the United States Supreme Court, March 10th, 1818)

THE plaintiffs contend that the acts in question are repugnant to the tenth section of the first article of the Constitution of the United States. The material words of that section are:—

"No State shall pass any bill of attainder, *ex post facto* law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts."

The object of these most important provisions in the national Constitution has often been discussed, both here and elsewhere. It is exhibited with great clearness and force by one of the distinguished persons who framed that instrument:—

"Bills of attainder, *ex post facto* laws, and laws impairing the obligation of contracts, are contrary to the first principles of the social compact and to every principle of sound legislation. The two former are expressly prohibited by the declarations prefixed to some of the State constitutions, and all of them are prohibited by the spirit and scope of these fundamental charters. Our own experience has taught us, nevertheless, that additional fences against these dangers ought not to be omitted. Very properly, therefore, have the convention added this constitutional bulwark in favor of personal security and private rights; and I am much deceived if they have not in so doing as faithfully consulted the genuine sentiments as the undoubted interests of their constituents. The sober people of America are weary of the fluctuating policy which has directed the public councils. They have seen with regret and with indignation that sudden changes and legislative interferences in cases affecting personal rights become jobs in the hands of enterprising and influential speculators, and snares to the more industrious and less informed part of the community. They have seen, too, that one legislative interference is but the link of a long chain of repetitions; every subsequent interference being naturally produced by the effects of the preceding."

It has already been decided in this court that a grant is a contract within the meaning of this provision; and that a grant

of a State is also a contract as much as the grant of an individual. In Fletcher *versus* Peck, this court says:—

"A contract is a compact between two or more parties, and is either executory or executed. An executory contract is one in which a party binds himself to do, or not to do, a particular thing; such was the law under which the conveyance was made by the Government. A contract executed is one in which the object of contract is performed; and this, says Blackstone, differs in nothing from a grant. The contract between Georgia and the purchasers was executed by the grant. A contract executed, as well as one which is executory, contains obligations binding on the parties. A grant, in its own nature, amounts to an extinguishment of the right of the grantor, and implies a contract not to reassert that right. If, under a fair construction of the Constitution, grants are comprehended under the term 'contracts,' is a grant from the State excluded from the operation of the provision? Is the clause to be considered as inhibiting the State from impairing the obligation of contracts between two individuals, but as excluding from that inhibition contracts made with itself? The words themselves contain no such distinction. They are general, and are applicable to contracts of every description. If contracts made with the State are to be exempted from their operation, the exception must arise from the character of the contracting party, not from the words which are employed. Whatever respect might have been felt for the State sovereignties, it is not to be disguised that the framers of the Constitution viewed with some apprehension the violent acts which might grow out of the feelings of the moment; and that the people of the United States, in adopting that instrument, have manifested a determination to shield themselves and their property from the effects of those sudden and strong passions to which men are exposed. The restrictions on the legislative power of the States are obviously founded in this sentiment; and the Constitution of the United States contains what may be deemed a bill of rights for the people of each State."

It has also been decided that a grant by a State before the Revolution is as much to be protected as a grant since. But the case of Terrett *versus* Taylor, before cited, is of all others most pertinent to the present argument. Indeed, the judgment of the court in that case seems to leave little to be argued or decided in this. "A private corporation," says the court, "created by the legislature, may lose its franchises by a *misuser* or a *nonuser* of them; and they may be resumed by the Government under a judicial judgment upon a *quo warranto* to ascertain and enforce

the forfeiture. This is the common law of the land, and is a tacit condition annexed to the creation of every such corporation. Upon a change of government, too, it may be admitted that such exclusive privileges attached to a private corporation as are inconsistent with the new government may be abolished. In respect, also, to public corporations which exist only for public purposes, such as counties, towns, cities, and so forth, the legislature may, under proper limitations, have a right to change, modify, enlarge, or restrain them, securing, however, the property for the uses of those for whom and at whose expense it was originally purchased. But that the legislature can repeal statutes creating private corporations, or confirming to them property already acquired under the faith of previous laws, and by such repeal can vest the property of such corporations exclusively in the State, or dispose of the same to such purposes as they please, without the consent or default of the corporators, we are not prepared to admit; and we think ourselves standing upon the principles of natural justice, upon the fundamental laws of every free government, upon the spirit and letter of the Constitution of the United States, and upon the decisions of most respectable judicial tribunals, in resisting such a doctrine."

This court, then, does not admit the doctrine that a legislature can repeal statutes creating private corporations. If it cannot repeal them altogether, of course it cannot repeal any part of them, or impair them, or essentially alter them, without the consent of the corporators. If, therefore, it has been shown that this college is to be regarded as a private charity, this case is embraced within the very terms of that decision. A grant of corporate powers and privileges is as much a contract as a grant of land. What proves all charters of this sort to be contracts is, that they must be accepted to give them force and effect. If they are not accepted, they are void. And in the case of an existing corporation, if a new charter is given it, it may even accept part and reject the rest. In Rex *versus* Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge, Lord Mansfield says: —

"There is a vast deal of difference between a new charter granted to a new corporation (who must take it as it is given), and a new charter given to a corporation already in being, and acting either under a former charter or under prescriptive usage. The latter, a corporation already existing, are not obliged to accept the new charter *in toto*, and to receive either all or none of it; they may act partly

under it, and partly under their old charter or prescription. The validity of these new charters must turn upon the acceptance of them.»

In the same case Mr. Justice Wilmot says:—

«It is the concurrence and acceptance of the university that gives the force to the charter of the crown.»

In the King *versus* Pasmore, Lord Kenyon observes:—

«Some things are clear: when a corporation exists capable of discharging its functions, the crown cannot obtrude another charter upon them; they may either accept or reject it.»

In all cases relative to charters, the acceptance of them is uniformly alleged in the pleadings. This shows the general understanding of the law, that they are grants or contracts; and that parties are necessary to give them force and validity. In King *versus* Doctor Askew, it is said:—

«The crown cannot oblige a man to be a corporator, without his consent; he shall not be subject to the inconveniences of it, without accepting it and assenting to it.»

These terms, «acceptance» and «assent,» are the very language of contract. In Ellis *versus* Marshall, it was expressly adjudged that the naming of the defendant among others, in an act of incorporation, did not, of itself, make him a corporator; and that his assent was necessary to that end. The court speaks of the act of incorporation as a grant, and observes:—

«That a man may refuse a grant, whether from the Government or an individual, seems to be a principle too clear to require the support of authorities.»

But Justice Buller, in King *versus* Pasmore, furnishes, if possible, a still more direct and explicit authority. Speaking of a corporation for government, he says:—

«I do not know how to reason on this point better than in the manner urged by one of the relator's counsel, who considered the grant of incorporation to be a compact between the crown and a certain number of the subjects, the latter of whom undertake, in consideration of the privileges which are bestowed, to exert themselves for the good government of the place.»

This language applies with peculiar propriety and force to the case before the court. It was in consequence of the "privileges bestowed," that Doctor Wheelock and his associates undertook to exert themselves for the instruction and education of youth in this college; and it was on the same consideration that the founder endowed it with his property.

And because charters of incorporation are of the nature of contracts, they cannot be altered or varied but by consent of the original parties. If a charter be granted by the King, it may be altered by a new charter granted by the King, and accepted by the corporators. But, if the first charter be granted by Parliament, the consent of Parliament must be obtained to any alteration. In King *versus* Miller, Lord Kenyon says:—

"Where a corporation takes its rise from the king's charter, the king by granting, and the corporation by accepting another charter, may alter it, because it is done with the consent of all the parties who are competent to consent to the alteration."

There are, in this case, all the essential constituent parts of a contract. There is something to be contracted about, there are parties, and there are plain terms in which the agreement of the parties on the subject of the contract is expressed. There are mutual considerations and inducements. The charter recites that the founder, on his part, has agreed to establish his seminary in New Hampshire, and to enlarge it beyond its original design, among other things, for the benefit of that Province; and thereupon a charter is given to him and his associates, designated by himself, promising and assuring to them, under the plighted faith of the State, the right of governing the college and administering its concerns in the manner provided in the charter. There is a complete and perfect grant to them of all the power of superintendence, visitation, and government. Is not this a contract? If lands or money had been granted to him and his associates, for the same purposes, such grant could not be rescinded. And is there any difference, in legal contemplation, between a grant of corporate franchises and a grant of tangible property? No such difference is recognized in any decided case, nor does it exist in the common apprehension of mankind.

It is, therefore, contended that this case falls within the true meaning of this provision of the Constitution, as expounded in the decisions of this court; that the charter of 1769 is a contract,

a stipulation or agreement, mutual in its considerations, express and formal in its terms, and of a most binding and solemn nature. That the acts in question impair this contract has already been sufficiently shown. They repeal and abrogate its most essential parts.

EXORDIUM IN THE KNAPP MURDER CASE

(Delivered on the Trial of John F. Knapp, for the Murder of Joseph White, of Salem, Massachusetts, on the Night of the Sixth of April, 1830)

I AM little accustomed, gentlemen, to the part which I am now attempting to perform. Hardly more than once or twice has it happened to me to be concerned, on the side of the Government, in any criminal prosecution whatever; and never, until the present occasion, in any case affecting life.

But I very much regret it should have been thought necessary to suggest to you that I am brought here to "hurry you against the law and beyond the evidence." I hope I have too much regard for justice, and too much respect for my own character, to attempt either; and were I to make such attempt, I am sure that in this court nothing can be carried against the law, and that gentlemen, intelligent and just as you are, are not, by any power, to be hurried beyond the evidence. Though I could well have wished to shun this occasion, I have not felt at liberty to withhold my professional assistance, when it is supposed that I might be in some degree useful, in investigating and discovering the truth, respecting this most extraordinary murder. It has seemed to be a duty, incumbent on me, as on every other citizen, to do my best, and my utmost, to bring to light the perpetrators of this crime. Against the prisoner at the bar, as an individual, I cannot have the slightest prejudice. I would not do him the smallest injury or injustice. But I do not affect to be indifferent to the discovery and the punishment of this deep guilt. I cheerfully share in the opprobrium, how much soever it may be, which is cast on those who feel and manifest an anxious concern that all who had a part in planning, or a hand in executing this deed of midnight assassination, may be brought to answer for their enormous crime, at the bar of public justice. Gentlemen, it is a most extraordinary case. In some respects, it has hardly a precedent anywhere; certainly none in our New

England history. This bloody drama exhibited no suddenly excited ungovernable rage. The actors in it were not surprised by any lion-like temptation springing upon their virtue, and overcoming it, before resistance could begin. Nor did they do the deed to glut savage vengeance, or satiate long-settled and deadly hate. It was a cool, calculating, money-making murder. It was all "hire and salary, not revenge." It was the weighing of money against life; the counting out of so many pieces of silver, against so many ounces of blood.

An aged man, without an enemy in the world, in his own house, and in his own bed, is made the victim of a butcherly murder, for mere pay. Truly, here is a new lesson for painters and poets. Whoever shall hereafter draw the portrait of murder, if he will show it as it has been exhibited in an example, where such example was last to have been looked for, in the very bosom of our New England society, let him not give it the grim visage of Moloch, the brow knitted by revenge, the face black with settled hate, and the bloodshot eye emitting livid fires of malice. Let him draw, rather, a decorous, smoothfaced, bloodless demon; a picture in repose, rather than in action; not so much an example of human nature, in its depravity and in its paroxysms of crime, as an infernal nature, a fiend, in the ordinary display and development of his character.

The deed was executed with a degree of self-possession and steadiness, equal to the wickedness with which it was planned. The circumstances, now clearly in evidence, spread out the whole scene before us. Deep sleep had fallen on the destined victim, and on all beneath his roof. A healthful old man, to whom sleep was sweet, the first sound slumbers of the night held him in their soft but strong embrace. The assassin enters, through the window already prepared, into an unoccupied apartment. With noiseless foot he paces the lonely hall, half lighted by the moon; he winds up the ascent of the stairs, and reaches the door of the chamber. Of this, he moves the lock, by soft and continued pressure, till it turns on its hinges without noise; and he enters, and beholds his victim before him. The room was uncommonly open to the admission of light. The face of the innocent sleeper was turned from the murderer, and the beams of the moon, resting on the gray locks of his aged temple, showed him where to strike. The fatal blow is given! and the victim passes, without a struggle or a motion, from the repose of sleep to the repose of death!

It is the assassin's purpose to make sure work; and he yet plies the dagger, though it was obvious that life had been destroyed by the blow of the bludgeon. He even raises the aged arm, that he may not fail in his aim at the heart, and replaces it again over the wounds of the poniard! To finish the picture, he explores the wrist for the pulse! He feels for it, and ascertains that it beats no longer! It is accomplished. The deed is done. He retreats, retraces his steps to the window, passes out through it as he came in, and escapes. He has done the murder — no eye has seen him, no ear has heard him. The secret is his own, and it is safe!

Ah! gentlemen, that was a dreadful mistake. Such a secret can be safe nowhere. The whole creation of God has neither nook nor corner, where the guilty can bestow it and say it is safe. Not to speak of that eye which glances through all disguises and beholds everything as in the splendor of noon — such secrets of guilt are never safe from detection, even by men. True it is, generally speaking, that "murder will out." True it is, that Providence hath so ordained and doth so govern things that those who break the great law of heaven by shedding man's blood seldom succeed in avoiding discovery. Especially, in a case exciting so much attention as this, discovery must come, and will come sooner or later. A thousand eyes turn at once to explore every man, everything, every circumstance connected with the time and place; a thousand ears catch every whisper; a thousand excited minds intently dwell on the scene, shedding all their light and ready to kindle the slightest circumstance into a blaze of discovery. Meantime, the guilty soul cannot keep its own secret. It is false to itself; or rather it feels an irresistible impulse of conscience to be true to itself. It labors under its guilty possession, and knows not what to do with it. The human heart was not made for the residence of such an inhabitant. It finds itself preyed on by a torment which it dares not acknowledge to God nor man. A vulture is devouring it, and it can ask no sympathy or assistance, either from heaven or earth. The secret which the murderer possesses soon comes to possess him; and, like the evil spirits of which we read, it overcomes him and leads him whithersoever it will. He feels it beating at his heart, rising to his throat, and demanding disclosure. He thinks the whole world sees it in his face, reads it in his eyes, and almost hears its workings in the very silence of his thoughts.

It has become his master. It betrays his discretion, it breaks down his courage, it conquers his prudence. When suspicions, from without, begin to embarrass him, and the net of circumstance to entangle him, the fatal secret struggles with still greater violence to burst forth. It must be confessed; it will be confessed; there is no refuge from confession but suicide, and suicide is confession.

SUPPORTING THE COMPROMISE OF 1850

(From the Speech Delivered in the Senate, July 17th, 1850)

SIR, I was in Boston some month or two ago, and, at a meeting of the people, said that the public mind of Massachusetts and the North was laboring under certain prejudices, and that I would take an occasion, which I did not then enjoy, to state what I supposed these prejudices to be, and how they had arisen. I shall say a few words on the subject now. In the first place, I think that there is no prejudice on the part of the people of Massachusetts or of the North, arising out of any ill-will, or any want of patriotism or good feeling, to the whole country. It all originates in misinformation, false representation, misapprehensions arising from those laborious efforts that have been made for the last twenty years to pervert the public judgment and irritate the public feeling.

The first of these misapprehensions is an exaggerated sense of the actual evil of the reclamation of fugitive slaves, felt by Massachusetts and the other New England States. What produced that? The cases do not exist. There has not been a case within the knowledge of this generation, in which a man has been taken back from Massachusetts into slavery by process of law, not one; and yet there are hundreds of people, who read nothing but Abolition newspapers, who suppose that these cases arise weekly; that, as a common thing, men, and sometimes their wives and children, are dragged back from the free soil of Massachusetts into slavery at the South. . . .

Sir, the principle of the restitution of runaway slaves is not objectionable, unless the Constitution is objectionable. If the Constitution is right in that respect, the principle is right and the law providing for carrying it into effect is right. If that be so,

and if there be no abuse of the right under any law of Congress or any other law, then what is there to complain of?

I say, sir, that not only has there been no case so far as I can learn of the reclamation of a slave by his master, which ended in taking him back to slavery in this generation, but I will add that so far as I have been able to go back in my researches, as far as I have been able to hear and learn in all that region, there has been no one case of false claim. Who knows in all New England of a single case of false claim having ever been set up to an alleged fugitive from slavery? It may possibly have happened; but I have never known it nor heard of it, although I have made diligent inquiry; nor do I believe there is the slightest danger of it, for all the community are alive to, and would take instant alarm at any appearance of such a case, and especially at this time. There is no danger of any such violation being perpetrated. Before I pass from this subject, sir, I will say that what seems extraordinary is this, that this principle of restitution which has existed in the country for more than two hundred years without complaint, sometimes as a matter of agreement between the Northern colonies and the South, and sometimes as a matter of comity, should all at once, and after the length of time I have mentioned, become a subject of excitement. I happen to have in my hand a letter from Governor Berkeley, the governor of Virginia, to Governor Endicott, of Massachusetts, written in the year 1644,—more than two hundred years ago,—in which he says that a certain gentleman [naming him] had lost some servants whom he supposes to have run away, giving their names, into the jurisdiction of Massachusetts; and the Member from Kentucky [Mr. Clay] will be pleased to learn that it contains a precedent for what he considers to be the proper course of proceeding in such cases. Governor Berkeley states that the gentleman, the owner of the slaves, has made it appear in court that they are his slaves and have run away. He goes on to say: "We expect you to use all kind offices for the restoration to their master of these fugitives, as we constantly exercise the same offices in restoring runaways to you." At that day I do not suppose there were a great many slaves in Massachusetts; but there was an extensive system of apprenticeship, and hundreds of persons were bound apprentices in Massachusetts, some of whom would run away. They were as likely to run to Virginia as anywhere else; and in such cases they were returned, upon demand,

to their masters. Indeed, it was found necessary in the early laws of Massachusetts to make provision for the seizure and return of runaway apprentices. In all the revisions of our laws, this provision remains; and here it is in the revised statutes now before me. It provides that runaway apprentices shall be secured upon the application of their masters, or any one on their behalf, and put into jail until they can be sent for by their masters; and there is no trial by jury in their case, either. I say, therefore, that the exaggerated statement of the danger and mischief arising from this right of reclaiming slaves is a prejudice produced by the causes I have stated and one which ought not longer to haunt and terrify the public mind. . . .

Mr. President, it has always seemed to me to be a grateful reflection that, however short and transient may be the lives of individuals, States may be permanent. The great corporations that embrace the government of mankind, protect their liberties, and secure their happiness, may have something of perpetuity, and, as I might say, of immortality. For my part, sir, I gratify myself by contemplating what in the future will be the condition of that generous State, which has done me the honor to keep me in the counsels of the country for so many years. I see nothing about her in prospect less than that which encircles her now. I feel that when I and all those that now hear me shall have gone to our last home, and afterwards, when mold may have gathered upon our memories as it will have done upon our tomb, that State, so early to take her part in the great contest of the Revolution, will stand as she has and does now stand, like that column which, near her capitol, perpetuates the memory of the first great battle of the Revolution, firm, erect, and immovable. I believe, sir, that if commotion shall shake the country, there will be one rock forever, as solid as the granite of her hills, for the Union to repose upon. I believe that if disasters arise, bringing clouds which shall obscure the ensign now over her and over us, there will be one star that will but burn the brighter amid the darkness of that night; and I believe that if in the remotest ages — I trust they will be infinitely remote — an occasion shall occur when the sternest duties of patriotism are demanded and to be performed, Massachusetts will imitate her own example; and that as at the breaking out of the Revolution, she was the first to offer the outpouring of all her blood and all her treasure in the struggle for liberty, so she will be hereafter ready when the

emergency arises to repeat and renew that offer with a thousand times as many warm hearts and a thousand times as many strong hands.

And now, Mr. President, to return at last to the principal and important question before us: What are we to do? How are we to bring this emergent and pressing question to an issue and an end? Here have we been seven and a half months disputing about points which, in my judgment, are of no practical importance to one or the other part of the country. Are we to dwell forever upon a single topic, a single idea? Are we to forget all the purposes for which governments are instituted, and continue everlastingly to dispute about that which is of no essential consequence? I think, sir, the country calls upon us loudly and imperatively to settle this question. I think that the whole world is looking to see whether this great popular Government can get through such a crisis. We are the observed of all observers. It is not to be disputed or doubted that the eyes of all Christendom are upon us. We have stood through many trials. Can we stand through this, which takes so much the character of a sectional controversy? Can we stand that? There is no inquiring man in all Europe who does not ask himself that question every day, when he reads the intelligence of the morning. Can this country, with one set of interests at the South, and another set of interests at the North, these interests supposed, but falsely supposed, to be at variance,—can this people see, what is so evident to the whole world beside, that this Union is their main hope and greatest benefit, and that their interests are entirely compatible? Can they see, and will they feel, that their prosperity, their respectability among the nations of the earth, and their happiness at home, depend upon the maintenance of their Union and their Constitution? That is the question. I agree that local divisions are apt to overturn the understandings of men, and to excite a belligerent feeling between section and section. It is natural, in times of irritation, for one part of the country to say, if you do that I will do this, and so get up a feeling of hostility and defiance. Then comes belligerent legislation, and then an appeal to arms. The question is, whether we have the true patriotism, the Americanism, necessary to carry us through such a trial. The whole world is looking towards us with extreme anxiety. For myself I propose, sir, to abide by the principles and the purposes which I have avowed. I shall stand by the Union, and by

all who stand by it. I shall do justice to the whole country, according to the best of my ability, in all I say, and act for the good of the whole country in all I do. I mean to stand upon the Constitution. I need no other platform. I shall know but one country. The ends I aim at shall be my Country's, my God's, and Truth's. I was born an American; I live an American; I shall die an American; and I intend to perform the duties incumbent upon me in that character to the end of my career. I mean to do this, with absolute disregard of personal consequences. What are personal consequences? What is the individual man, with all the good or evil that may betide him, in comparison with the good or evil which may befall a great country in a crisis like this, and in the midst of great transactions which concern that country's fate? Let the consequences be what they will, I am careless. No man can suffer too much, and no man can fall too soon, if he suffer, or if he fall, in defense of the liberties and Constitution of his country.

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John Wesley

JOHN WESLEY.

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JOHN WESLEY

(1703–1791)

JOHN WESLEY, the celebrated founder of the Methodist Episcopal Church, is described as a facile extemporaneous speaker «whose oratory was colloquial, terse, and homely, but never vulgar.» It was probably Sydney Smith, who, after writing a book review, denied that he had prejudiced himself against the work by reading it. The standard authority which thus characterizes Wesley's style is probably entitled to the benefit of a similar denial, for, as a matter of fact, Wesley's style is scholarly rather than colloquial, and classical rather than homely. He was a graduate of Oxford, and a fellow of Lincoln College, who dearly loved a classical quotation, for its own sake. He quotes English, Latin, and Greek verse with equal pleasure, and apparently with equal facility. Modern editions of his sermons, which omit his classical quotations, do not represent him in what was one of the most striking characteristics of his style. He quoted Homer and Horace with as much energy as he did St. Paul in warning his generation against licentiousness in morals and luxury in dress. His English is always clear and graceful; the movement of his sentences is rapid, and in his style he compares favorably with Butler, Taylor, and Bunyan. «Let those who please,» he says, «be in raptures at the pretty, elegant sentences of Massillon and Bourdaloue. . . . Let who will admire the French frippery. I am still for plain, sound English.»

He was born at Epworth, England, June 28th (N. S.), 1703, from a noted family of scholars, his father Samuel Wesley being an Oxford graduate, and an intimate friend of Pope, Swift, and Prior. Graduating at Oxford in 1727, John Wesley took orders in the Established Church, of which he always considered himself a member, though he founded Methodism as a protest against the politics of the Establishment and the general demoralization of the aristocratic society of his day. He visited Georgia as a missionary in 1735, spending three years in America, and returning to England, where in 1739 he began his great work as an open-air preacher. He died at London, March 2d, 1791.

THE POVERTY OF REASON

(From a Sermon on I. Corinthians xiv. 20)

FAITH, according to Scripture, is "an evidence," or conviction "of things not seen." It is a Divine evidence, bringing a full conviction of an invisible eternal world. It is true there was a kind of shadowy persuasion of this even among the wiser heathen; probably from tradition, or from some gleams of light reflected from the Israelites. Hence many hundred years before our Lord was born, the Greek poet uttered that great truth,—

"Millions of spiritual creatures walk the earth
Unseen, whether we wake, or if we sleep."

But this was little more than faint conjecture; it was far from a high conviction; which reason, in its highest state of improvement, could never produce in any child of man.

Many years ago I found the truth of this by sad experience. After carefully heaping up the strongest arguments which I could find, either in ancient or modern authors, for the very being of a God, and (which is nearly connected with it) the existence of an invisible world, I have wandered up and down musing with myself: "What, if all these things which I see around me, this earth and heaven, this universal frame, have existed from eternity? What, if that melancholy supposition of the old poet be the real case,—

Οτη περ φυλλων γενεη, τοτηδε και ανδρων;

What, if 'the generation of men be exactly parallel with the generation of leaves'? if the earth drops its successive inhabitants just as the tree drops its leaves? What, if that saying of a great man be really true,—

Post mortem nihil est; ipsaque mors nihil?

'Death is nothing, and nothing is after death?'

How am I sure that this is not the case; that I have not followed cunningly devised fables?" And I have pursued the thought, till there was no spirit in me, and I was ready to choose strangling rather than life.

But in a point of so unspeakable importance, do not depend upon the word of another; but retire for a while from the busy world, and make the experiment yourself. Try whether your reason will give you a clear, satisfactory evidence of the invisible world. After the prejudices of education are laid aside, produce your strong reasons for the existence of this. Set them all in array; silence all objections; and put all your doubts to flight. Alas! you cannot, with all your understanding. You may repress them for a season. But how quickly will they rally again, and attack you with redoubled violence! And what can poor reason do for your deliverance? The more vehemently you struggle, the more deeply you are entangled in the toils; and you find no way to escape.

How was the case with that great admirer of reason, the author of the maxim above cited? I mean the famous Mr. Hobbes. None will deny that he had a strong understanding. But did it produce in him a full and satisfactory conviction of an invisible world? Did it open the eyes of his understanding to see—

"Beyond the bounds of this diurnal sphere?"

Oh, no! far from it! His dying words ought never to be forgotten. "Where are you going, sir?" said one of his friends. He answered: "I am taking a leap in the dark!" and died. Just such an evidence of the invisible world can bare reason give to the wisest of men! . . .

One of the most sensible and most amiable heathen that have lived since our Lord died, even though he governed the greatest empire in the world, was the Emperor Adrian. It is his well-known saying: "A prince ought to resemble the sun: he ought to shine on every part of his dominion, and to diffuse his salutary rays in every place where he comes." And his life was a comment upon his word; wherever he went he was executing justice and showing mercy. Was not he, then, at the close of a long life, full of immortal hope? We are able to answer this from unquestionable authority,—from his own dying words. How inimitably pathetic!

ADRIANI MORIENTIS AD ANIMAM SUAM

"DYING ADRIAN TO HIS SOUL"

"*Animula, vagula, blandula,*
Hospes, comesque corporis,

Quæ nunc abibis in loca,
Pallidula, rigida, nudula,
Nec, ut soles, dabis jocos!»

Which the English reader may see translated into our own language, with all the spirit of the original:—

«Poor, little, pretty, fluttering thing,
Must we no longer live together?
And dost thou prune thy trembling wing
To take thy flight, thou know'st not whither?

«Thy pleasing vein, thy humorous folly,
Lies all neglected, all forgot!
And pensive, wavering, melancholy,
Thou hop'st, and fear'st, thou know'st not what.»

Reason, however cultivated and improved, cannot produce the love of God; which is plain from hence: it cannot produce either faith or hope; from which alone this love can flow. It is then only, when we «behold» by faith «what manner of love the Father hath bestowed upon us,» in giving his only Son, that we might not perish, but have everlasting life, that «the love of God is shed abroad in our heart by the Holy Ghost which is given unto us.» It is only then, when we «rejoice in hope of the glory of God,» that «we love him because he first loved us.» But what can cold reason do in this matter? It may present us with fair ideas; it can draw a fine picture of love: but this is only a painted fire. And further than this reason cannot go. I made the trial for many years. I collected the finest hymns, prayers, and meditations which I could find in any language; and I said, sang, or read them over and over, with all possible seriousness and attention. But still I was like the bones in Ezekiel's vision: «The skin covered them above; but there was no breath in them.»

And as reason cannot produce the love of God, so neither can it produce the love of our neighbor; a calm, generous, disinterested benevolence to every child of man. This earnest, steady good-will to our fellow-creatures never flowed from any fountain but gratitude to our Creator. And if this be (as a very ingenious man supposes) the very essence of virtue, it follows that virtue can have no being, unless it spring from the love of God.

Therefore, as reason cannot produce this love, so neither can it produce virtue.

And as it cannot give either faith, hope, love, or virtue, so it cannot give happiness; since, separate from these, there can be no happiness for any intelligent creature. It is true, those who are void of all virtue may have pleasures, such as they are; but happiness they have not, cannot have. No:—

> "Their joy is all sadness; their mirth is all vain;
> Their laughter is madness; their pleasure is pain!"

Pleasures? Shadows! dreams! fleeting as the wind! unsubstantial as the rainbow! as unsatisfying to the poor gasping soul,

> "As the gay colors of an eastern cloud."

None of these will stand the test of reflection: if thought comes, the bubble breaks!

"SACRA FAMES AURI"

(From a Sermon on I. Timothy vi. 9)

O YE Methodists, hear the word of the Lord! I have a message from God to all men, but to you above all. For above forty years I have been a servant to you and to your fathers. And I have not been as a reed shaken with the wind; I have not varied in my testimony. I have testified to you the very same thing, from the first day even until now. But "who hath believed our report"? I fear not many rich; I fear there is need to apply to some of you those terrible words of the apostle: "Go to now, ye rich men! weep and howl for the miseries which shall come upon you. Your gold and silver is cankered, and the rust of them shall witness against you, and shall eat your flesh, as it were fire." Certainly it will, unless you both save all you can, and give all you can. But who of you hath considered this, since you first heard the will of the Lord concerning it? Who is now determined to consider and practice it? By the grace of God, begin to-day!

O ye lovers of money, hear the word of the Lord! Suppose ye that money, though multiplied as the sand of the sea, can give happiness? Then you are "given up to a strong delusion to believe a lie";—a palpable lie, confuted daily by a thousand

experiments! Open your eyes! Look all around you! Are the richest men the happiest? Have those the largest share of content who have the largest possessions? Is not the very reverse true? Is it not a common observation, that the richest of men are, in general, the most discontented, the most miserable? Had not the far greater part of them more content, when they had less money? Look into your own breasts. If you are increased in goods, are you proportionally increased in happiness? You have more substance; but have you more content? You know that in seeking happiness from riches, you are only striving to drink out of empty cups. And let them be painted and gilded ever so finely, they are empty still.

O ye that desire or endeavor to be rich, hear ye the word of the Lord! Why should ye be stricken any more? Will not even experience teach you wisdom? Will ye leap into a pit with your eyes open? Why should you any more "fall into temptation"? It cannot be but temptation will beset you, as long as you are in the body. But though it should beset you on every side, why will you enter into it? There is no necessity for this: it is your own voluntary act and deed. Why should you any more plunge yourselves into a snare, into the trap Satan has laid for you, that is ready to break your bones in pieces; to crush your soul to death? After fair warning, why should you sink any more into "foolish and hurtful desires"? desires as inconsistent with reason as they are with religion itself; desires that have done you more hurt already than all the treasures upon earth can countervail.

Have they not hurt you already, have they not wounded you in the tenderest part, by slackening, if not utterly destroying your "hunger and thirst after righteousness"? Have you now the same longing that you had once for the whole image of God? Have you the same vehement desire as you formerly had, of "going on unto perfection"? Have they not hurt you by weakening your faith? Have you now faith's abiding impression, realizing things to come? Do you endure, in all temptations, from pleasure or pain, "seeing him that is invisible"? Have you every day, and every hour, an uninterrupted sense of his presence? Have they not hurt you with regard to your hope? Have you now a hope full of immortality? Are you still big with earnest expectation of all the great and precious promises? Do you now "taste the powers of the world to come"? Do you "sit in heavenly places with Christ Jesus"?

Have they not so hurt you as to stab your religion to the heart? Have they not cooled, if not quenched, your love to God? This is easily determined. Have you the same delight in God which you once had? Can you now say:—

> "I nothing want beneath, above;
> Happy, happy in thy love"?

I fear not. And if your love of God is in anywise decayed, so is also your love of your neighbor. You are then hurt in the very life and spirit of your religion! If you lose love, you lose all.

Are not you hurt with regard to your humility? If you are increased in goods, it cannot well be otherwise. Many will think you a better, because you are a richer man: and how can you help thinking so yourself? especially, considering the commendations which some will give you in simplicity, and many with a design to serve themselves of you.

If you are hurt in your humility, it will appear by this token: you are not so teachable as you were, not so advisable; you are not so easy to be convinced, not so easy to be persuaded; you have a much better opinion of your own judgment, and are more attached to your own will. Formerly one might guide you with a thread; now one cannot turn you with a cart rope. You were glad to be admonished or reproved; but that time is past. And you now account a man your enemy because he tells you the truth. Oh, let each of you calmly consider this, and see if it be not your own picture!

Are you not equally hurt, with regard to your meekness? You had once learned an excellent lesson of him that was meek as well as lowly in heart. When you were reviled, you reviled not again. You did not return railing for railing, but contrariwise blessing. Your love was not provoked, but enabled you on all occasions to overcome evil with good. Is this your case now? I am afraid not. I fear you cannot "bear all things." Alas, it may rather be said, you can bear nothing; no injury, nor even affront! How quickly are you ruffled! How readily does that occur, "What! to use me so! What insolence is this! How did he dare to do it? I am not now what I was once. Let him know, I am now able to defend myself." You mean to revenge yourself. And it is much, if you are not willing, as well as able; if you do not take your fellow-servant by the throat. . . .

You are so deeply hurt that you have nigh lost your zeal for works of mercy, as well as of piety. You once pushed on through cold or rain, or whatever cross lay in your way, to see the poor, the sick, the distressed. You went about doing good, and found out those who were not able to find you. You cheerfully crept down into their cellars, and climbed up in their garrets,—

> "To supply all their wants,
> And spend and be spent in assisting his saints."

You found out every scene of human misery, and assisted according to your power: —

> "Each form of woe your generous pity moved;
> Your Savior's face you saw, and, seeing, loved."

Do you now tread in the same steps? What hinders? Do you fear spoiling your silken coat? Or is there another lion in the way? Are you afraid of catching vermin? And are you not afraid lest the roaring lion should catch you? Are you not afraid of him that hath said: "Inasmuch as ye have not done it unto the least of these, ye have not done it unto me"? What will follow? "Depart, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels!"

ON DRESSING FOR DISPLAY

(From a Sermon on I. Peter iii. 3, 4)

The question is: What harm does it do to adorn ourselves with gold, or pearls, or costly array, suppose you can afford it; that is, suppose it does not hurt or impoverish your family? The first harm it does is, it engenders pride, and where it is already, increases it. Whoever narrowly observes what passes in his own heart will easily discern this. Nothing is more natural than to think ourselves better because we are dressed in better clothes; and it is scarcely possible for a man to wear costly apparel without, in some measure, valuing himself upon it. One of the old heathens was so well apprised of this that when he had a spite to a poor man, and had a mind to turn his head, he made him a present of a suit of fine clothes.

> "*Eutrapelus cuicunque nocere volebat,*
> *Vestimenta dabat pretiosa.*"

He could not then but imagine himself to be as much better as he was finer than his neighbor. And how many thousands, not only lords and gentlemen in England, but honest tradesmen, argue the same way? inferring the superior value of their persons from the value of their clothes!

"But may not one man be as proud, though clad in sackcloth, as another is, though clad in cloth of gold?" As this argument meets us at every turn, and is supposed to be unanswerable, it will be worth while to answer at once for all, and to show the utter emptiness of it. "May not, then, one clad in sackcloth," you ask, "be as proud as he that is clad in cloth of gold?" I answer: Certainly he may: I suppose no one doubts of it. And what inference can you draw from this? Take a parallel case. One man that drinks a cup of wholesome wine may be as sick as another that drinks poison; but does this prove that the poison has no more tendency to hurt a man than the wine? Or does it excuse any man for taking what has a natural tendency to make him sick? Now, to apply: Experience shows that fine clothes have a natural tendency to make a man sick of pride; plain clothes have not. Although it is true, you may be sick of pride in these also, yet they have no natural tendency either to cause or increase this sickness. Therefore, all that desire to be clothed with humility, abstain from that poison.

The wearing gay or costly apparel naturally tends to breed and to increase vanity. By vanity I here mean the love and desire of being admired and praised. Every one of you that is fond of dress has a witness of this in your own bosom. Whether you will confess it before man or no, you are convinced of this before God. You know in your hearts, it is with a view to be admired that you thus adorn yourselves; and that you would not be at the pains were none to see you but God and his holy angels. Now the more you indulge this foolish desire, the more it grows upon you. You have vanity enough by nature; but by thus indulging it, you increase it a hundredfold. Oh, stop! Aim at pleasing God alone, and all these ornaments will drop off.

. . . . . .

Gay and costly apparel directly tends to create and inflame lust. I was in doubt whether to name this brutal appetite; or, in order to spare delicate ears, to express it by some gentle circumlocution,—like the dean, who, some years ago, told his audience at Whitehall: "If you do not repent, you will go to a

place which I have too much manners to name before this good company.» But I think it best to speak out; since the more the word shocks your ears, the more it may arm your heart. The fact is plain and undeniable; it has this effect both on the wearer and the beholder. To the former, our elegant poet Cowley addresses those fine lines:—

«Th' adorning thee with so much art
Is but a barbarous skill;
'Tis like the poisoning of a dart,
Too apt before to kill.»

That is,—to express the matter in plain terms, without any coloring,—«You poison the beholder with far more of this base appetite than otherwise he would feel.» Did you not know this would be the natural consequence of your elegant adorning? To push the question home: Did you not desire, did you not design, it should? And yet, all the time, how did you—

«Set to public view
A specious face of innocence and virtue!»

Meanwhile, you do not yourself escape the snare which you spread for others. The dart recoils, and you are infected with the same poison with which you infected them. You kindle a flame which at the same time consumes both yourself and your admirers. And it is well, if it does not plunge both you and them into the flames of hell!

The wearing costly array is directly opposite to the being adorned with good works. Nothing can be more evident than this; for the more you lay out on your own apparel, the less you have left to clothe the naked, to feed the hungry, to lodge the strangers, to relieve those that are sick and in prison, and to lessen the numberless afflictions to which we are exposed in this vale of tears. And here is no room for the evasion used before: «I may be as humble in cloth of gold, as in sackcloth.» If you could be as humble when you choose costly as when you choose plain apparel,—which I flatly deny,—yet you could not be as beneficent,—as plenteous in good works. Every shilling which you save from your own apparel you may expend in clothing the naked and relieving the various necessities of the poor whom ye «have always with you.» Therefore, every shilling which you

needlessly spend on your apparel is, in effect, stolen from God and the poor. And how many precious opportunities of doing good have you defrauded yourself of! How often have you disabled yourself from doing good by purchasing what you did not want! For what end did you buy these ornaments? To please God? No; but to please your own fancy, or to gain the admiration and applause of those that were no wiser than yourself. How much good might you have done with that money! and what an irreparable loss have you sustained by not doing it, if it be true that the day is at hand when "every man shall receive his own reward according to his own labor!"

GEORGE WHITEFIELD

(1714–1770)

GEORGE WHITEFIELD, one of the greatest extemporaneous orators of modern times, preached his first sermon at Gloucester in 1736, and his formidable appeals to their consciousness of wrongdoing are said to have «driven fifteen persons mad.» In view of this assertion of what is generally accepted as a fact, the reader must judge the extent to which it is a misfortune that Whitefield's written sermons do not at all represent his power as an extemporaneous speaker. It is said by one of his critics that «his printed works convey a totally inadequate idea of his oratorical powers, and are all in fact below mediocrity.» While «The Kingdom of God,» here used to represent him, does not deserve this sweeping condemnation, it is certainly not equal in force or style to the average sermons of his great associate, Wesley, whom as an extemporaneous speaker he certainly surpassed. Whitefield was born in Gloucester in 1714. He began life as potboy in an inn, kept by his parents in Gloucester, and it is said that in his youth he was addicted «to Sabbath-breaking, card-playing, and other vicious practices.» At eighteen, however, he became more sober-minded, and entering Oxford as a servitor of Pembroke College, he came under the influence of the Wesleys. This decided his career and made him one of the founders of the Methodist Church. He was ordained as a minister of the Church of England and left it only when his great eloquence and astonishing power caused him to be condemned by the more lymphatic as an emotional enthusiast. It is said that he preached eighteen thousand times during the thirty-four years of his ministry, visiting almost every town in England, Scotland, and Wales, and crossing the Atlantic seven times back and forth between England and America. He died at Newburyport, Massachusetts, September 30th, 1770.

THE KINGDOM OF GOD

(From a Sermon on Romans xiv. 7)

THE kingdom of God is "righteousness." By righteousness we are here to understand the complete, perfect, and all-sufficient righteousness of our Lord Jesus Christ, as including both his active and his passive obedience. My dear friends, we have no righteousness of our own; our best righteousness, take it altogether, is but so many filthy rags; we can only be accepted for the sake of the righteousness of our Lord Jesus Christ. This righteousness must be imputed and made over to us, and applied to our hearts; and till we get this righteousness brought home to our souls, we are in a state of death and damnation,—the wrath of God abideth on us.

Before I go further, I would endeavor to apply this. Give me leave to put this question to your hearts. You call yourselves Christians, and would count me uncharitable to call it in question; but I exhort you to let conscience speak out,—do not bribe it any longer. Did you ever see yourselves as damned sinners? Did conviction ever fasten upon your hearts? And after you had been made to see your want of Christ, and made to hunger and thirst after righteousness, did you lay hold on Christ by faith? Did you ever close with Christ? Was Christ's righteousness ever put upon your naked souls? Was ever a feeling application of his righteousness made to your hearts? Was it, or was it not? If not, you are in a damnable state,—you are out of Christ; for the Apostle says here: "The kingdom of God is righteousness"; that is, the righteousness of Christ applied and brought home to the heart.

It follows "peace." "The kingdom of God is righteousness and peace." By peace I do not understand that false peace, or rather carnal security, into which so many are fallen. There are thousands who speak peace to themselves when there is no peace. Thousands have got a peace of the devil's making; the strong man armed has got possession of their hearts, and therefore their goods are all in peace. But the peace here spoken of is a peace that follows after a great deal of soul trouble; it is like that calm which the Lord Jesus Christ spoke to the wind: "Peace, be still; and immediately there was a great calm"; it is like that peace which Christ spoke to his Disciples when he came

and said: "Peace be unto you,"—"My peace I leave with you." It is a peace of God's making, it is a peace of God's giving, it is a peace that the world cannot give, it is a peace that can be felt, it is a peace that passeth human understanding,—it is a peace that results from a sense of having Christ's righteousness brought home to the soul. For a poor soul before this is full of trouble; Christ makes application of his righteousness to his heart; and then the poor creature, being justified by faith, hath peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ. My dear friends, I am now talking of heart religion, of an inward work of God, an inward kingdom in your hearts, which you must have, or you shall never sit with Jesus Christ in his kingdom. The most of you may have peace, but for Christ's sake examine upon what this peace is founded—see if Christ be brought home to your souls, if you have had a feeling application of the merits of Christ brought home to your souls. Is God at peace with you? Did Jesus Christ ever say, "Peace be to you"—"Be of good cheer"—"Go thy way, thy sins are forgiven thee"—"My peace I leave with you, my peace I give unto you"? Did God ever bring a comfortable promise with power to your soul? And after you have been praying, and fearing you would be damned, did you ever feel peace flow in like a river upon your soul? so that you could say: Now I know that God is my friend, now I know that Jesus is my Savior, now I can call him: "My Lord, and my God"; now I know that Christ hath not only died for others, but I know that Jesus hath died for me in particular. O my dear friends, it is impossible to tell you the comfort of this peace, and I am astonished (only man's heart is desperately wicked) how you can have peace one moment and yet not know that God is at peace with you. How can you go to bed this night without this peace? It is a blessed thing to know when sin is forgiven; would you not be glad if an angel were to come and tell you so this night?

But there is something more—there is "joy in the Holy Ghost." I have often thought that if the Apostle Paul were to come and preach now, he would be reckoned one of the greatest enthusiasts on earth. He talked of the Holy Ghost, of feeling the Holy Ghost; and so we must all feel it, all experience it, all receive it, or we can never see a holy God with comfort. We are not to receive the Holy Ghost so as to enable us to work miracles; for, "Many will say in that day: We have cast out

devils in thy name, and in thy name done many wonderful works." But we must receive the Holy Ghost to sanctify our nature, to purify our hearts, and make us meet for heaven. Unless we are born again, and have the Holy Ghost in our hearts, if we were in heaven we could take no pleasure there. The Apostle not only supposes we must have the Holy Ghost, but he supposes, as a necessary ingredient to make up the kingdom of God, in a believer's heart, that he must have "joy in the Holy Ghost." There are a great many, I believe, who think religion is a poor, melancholy thing, and they are afraid to be Christians. But, my dear friends, there is no true joy till you can joy in God and Christ. I know wicked men and men of pleasure will have a little laughter; but what is it, but like the crackling of a few thorns under a pot? it makes a blaze, and soon goes out. I know what it is to take pleasure in sin; but I always found the smart that followed was ten thousand times more hurtful than any gratification I could receive. But they who joy in God have a joy that strangers intermeddle not with —it is a joy that no man can take from them; it amounts to a full assurance of faith that the soul is reconciled to God through Christ, that Jesus dwells in the heart; and when the soul reflects on itself, it magnifies the Lord, and rejoices in God its Savior. Thus we are told that "Zaccheus received Christ joyfully," that "the eunuch went on his way rejoicing," and that "the jailer rejoiced in God with all his house." O my friends, what joy have they that know their sins are forgiven them! What a blessed thing is it for a man to look forward and see an endless eternity of happiness before him, knowing that everything shall work together for his good!—it is joy unspeakable and full of glory. Oh, may God make you all partakers of it!

Here, then, we will put the kingdom of God together. It is "righteousness," it is "peace," it is "joy in the Holy Ghost." When this is placed in the heart, God there reigns, God there dwells and walks—the creature is a son or daughter of the Almighty. But, my friends, how few are there here who have been made partakers of this kingdom! Perhaps the kingdom of the devil, instead of the kingdom of God, is in most of our hearts. This has been a place much favored of God. May I hope some of you can go along with me and say: "Blessed be God, we have got righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost"? Have you so? Then you are kings, though beggars; you are happy

above all men in the world — you have got heaven in your hearts; and when the crust of your bodies drops, your souls will meet with God, your souls will enter into the world of peace, and you shall be happy with God for evermore. I hope there is none of you who will fear death; fie for shame, if you do! What! afraid to go to Jesus, to your Lord? You may cry out: "O death, where is thy sting? O grave, where is thy victory?" You may go on your way rejoicing, knowing that God is your friend; die when you will, angels will carry you safe to heaven.

But, oh, how many are here in this churchyard who will be laid in some grave ere long, who are entire strangers to this work of God upon their souls! My dear friends, I think this is an awful sight. Here are many thousands of souls that must shortly appear with me, a poor creature, in the general assembly of all mankind before God in judgment. God Almighty knows whether some of you may not drop down dead before you go out of the churchyard; and, yet, perhaps most are strangers to the Lord Jesus Christ in their hearts. Perhaps curiosity has brought you out to hear a poor babbler preach. But, my friends, I hope I came out of a better principle. If I know anything of my heart, I came to promote God's glory; and if the Lord should make use of such a worthless worm, such a wretched creature as I am, to do your precious souls good, nothing would rejoice me more than to hear that God makes the foolishness of preaching a means of making many believe. I was long myself deceived with a form of godliness, and I know what it is to be a factor for the devil, to be led captive by the devil at his will, to have the kingdom of the devil in my heart; and I hope I can say through free grace, I know what it is to have the kingdom of God erected in me. It is God's goodness that such a poor wretch as I am converted; though sometimes when I am speaking of God's goodness I am afraid he will strike me down dead. Let me draw out my soul and heart to you, my dear friends, my dear guilty friends, poor bleeding souls, who must shortly take your last farewell and fly into endless eternity. Let me entreat you to lay these things seriously to heart this night. Now when the Sabbath is over and the evening is drawing near, methinks the very sight is awful (I could almost weep over you, as our Lord did over Jerusalem) to think in how short a time every soul of you must die — some of you to go to heaven and others to go to the devil for evermore.

O my dear friends, these are matters of eternal moment. I did not come to tickle your ears; if I had a mind to do so, I would play the orator; no, but I came, if God should be pleased, to touch your hearts. What shall I say to you? Open the door of your heart that the king of glory, the blessed Jesus, may come in and erect his kingdom in your soul. Make room for Christ; the Lord Jesus desires to sup with you to-night; Christ is willing to come into any of your hearts that will be pleased to open and receive him. Are there any of you made willing Lydias? There are many women here, but how many Lydias are there here? Does power go with the word to open your heart? and find you a sweet melting in your soul? Are you willing? Then Christ Jesus is willing to come to you. But you may say: Will Christ come to my wicked, polluted heart? Yes, though you have many devils in your heart, Christ will come and erect his throne there; though the devils be in your heart, the Lord Jesus will scourge out a legion of devils, and his throne shall be exalted in thy soul. Sinners, be ye what you will, come to Christ, you shall have righteousness and peace. If you have no peace, come to Christ and he will give you peace. When you come to Christ you will feel such joy that it is impossible for you to tell. O may God pity you all! I hope this will be a night of salvation to some of your souls.

My dear friends, I would preach with all my heart till midnight to do you good, till I could preach no more. Oh, that this body might hold out to speak more for my dear Redeemer! Had I a thousand lives, had I a thousand tongues, they should be employed in inviting sinners to come to Jesus Christ! Come, then, let me prevail with some of you to come along with me. Come, poor, lost, undone sinner, come just as you are to Christ, and say: If I be damned I will perish at the feet of Jesus Christ, where never one perished yet. He will receive you with open arms; the dear Redeemer is willing to receive you all. Fly, then, for your lives. The devil is in you while unconverted; and will you go with the devil in your heart to bed this night? God Almighty knows if ever you and I shall see one another again. In one or two days more I must go, and, perhaps, I may never see you again till I meet you at the Judgment Day. Oh, my dear friends, think of that solemn meeting; think of that important hour when the heavens shall pass away with a great noise, when the elements shall melt with fervent heat, when the sea and the grave

shall be giving up their dead, and all shall be summoned to appear before the great God. What will you do then if the kingdom of God is not erected in your hearts? You must go to the devil,—like must go to like,—if you are not converted. Christ hath asserted it in the strongest manner: "Verily, verily, I say unto you: Except a man be born again, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God." Who can dwell with devouring fire? Who can dwell with everlasting burnings? Oh, my heart is melting with love to you. Surely God intends to do good to your poor souls. Will no one be persuaded to accept of Christ? If those who are settled Pharisees will not come, I desire to speak to you who are drunkards, Sabbath-breakers, cursers, and swearers—will you come to Christ? I know that many of you come here out of curiosity; though you come only to see the congregation, yet if you come to Jesus Christ, Christ will accept of you. Are there any cursing, swearing soldiers here? Will you come to Jesus Christ, and list yourselves under the banner of the dear Redeemer? You are all welcome to Christ. Are there any little boys or little girls here? Come to Christ, and he will erect his kingdom in you. There are many little children whom God is working on, both at home and abroad. Oh, if some of the little lambs would come to Christ, they shall have peace and joy in the day that the Redeemer shall set up his kingdom in their hearts. Parents tell them that Jesus Christ will take them in his arms, that he will dandle them on his knees. All of you, old and young, you that are old and gray-headed, come to Jesus Christ, and you shall be kings and priests to your God. The Lord will abundantly pardon you at the eleventh hour. "Ho, every one of you that thirsteth." If there be any of you ambitious of honor, do you want a crown, a sceptre? Come to Christ, and the Lord Jesus Christ will give you a kingdom that no man shall take from you.

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WILLIAM WILBERFORCE.

After the Painting by George Richmond.

WILLIAM WILBERFORCE

(1759–1833)

DURING the eighteenth century, until Wilberforce began his public career, the slave trade was one of the notable sources of English commercial revenue, and the colonial policies of the Empire were adapted to promote it. Wilberforce, who was born August 24th, 1759, and educated at Cambridge, entered Parliament in 1780. In 1787, in connection with Thomas Clarkson, and with Pitt's support, he began the agitation against the slave trade, which finally ended in its abolition, and in the emancipation bill of August 1833, passed a month after his death. His speech of May 12th, 1789, is the keynote of English and American history for three quarters of a century. It voices the sentiment of Jefferson and Washington, which found expression in the prohibition of the slave trade embodied in the American Constitution, and it inspired Brougham in England as it did Seward in America to force issues against slavery, regardless of "vested rights."

HORRORS OF THE BRITISH SLAVE TRADE IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

(From the Debate on Wilberforce's Resolutions Respecting the Slave Trade, in Parliament, May 12th, 1789)

IN OPENING, concerning the nature of the slave trade, I need only observe that it is found by experience to be just such as every man who uses his reason would infallibly conclude it to be. For my own part, so clearly am I convinced of the mischiefs inseparable from it, that I should hardly want any further evidence than my own mind would furnish, by the most simple deductions. Facts, however, are now laid before the House. A report has been made by his Majesty's privy council, which, I trust, every gentleman has read, and which ascertains the slave trade to be just such in practice as we know, from theory, it must be. What should we suppose must naturally be the conse-

quence of our carrying on a slave trade with Africa? With a country vast in its extent, not utterly barbarous, but civilized in a very small degree? Does any one suppose a slave trade would help their civilization? Is it not plain that she must suffer from it? That civilization must be checked; that her barbarous manners must be made more barbarous; and that the happiness of her millions of inhabitants must be prejudiced with her intercourse with Britain? Does not every one see that a slave trade carried on around her coasts must carry violence and desolation to her very centre? That in a continent just emerging from barbarism, if a trade in men is established, if her men are all converted into goods, and become commodities that can be bartered, it follows they must be subject to ravage just as goods are; and this, too, at a period of civilization, when there is no protecting legislature to defend this their only sort of property, in the same manner as the rights of property are maintained by the legislature of every civilized country. We see then, in the nature of things, how easily the practices of Africa are to be accounted for. Her kings are never compelled to war, that we can hear of, by public principles, by national glory, still less by the love of their people. In Europe it is the extension of commerce, the maintenance of national honor, or some great public object, that is ever the motive to war with every monarch; but, in Africa, it is the personal avarice and sensuality, of their kings; these two vices of avarice and sensuality, the most powerful and predominant in natures thus corrupt, we tempt, we stimulate in all these African princes, and we depend upon these vices for the very maintenance of the slave trade. Does the king of Barbessin want brandy? he has only to send his troops, in the night-time, to burn and desolate a village; the captives will serve as commodities, that may be bartered with the British trader. What a striking view of the wretched state of Africa does the tragedy of Calabar furnish! Two towns, formerly hostile, had settled their differences, and by an intermarriage among their chiefs, had each pledged themselves to peace; but the trade in slaves was prejudiced by such pacifications, and it became, therefore, the policy of our traders to renew the hostilities. This, their policy, was soon put in practice, and the scene of carnage which followed was such, that it is better, perhaps, to refer gentlemen to the privy council's report than to agitate their minds by dwelling on it.

The slave trade, in its very nature, is the source of such kind of tragedies; nor has there been a single person, almost, before the privy council, who does not add something by his testimony to the mass of evidence upon this point. Some, indeed, of these gentlemen, and particularly the delegates from Liverpool, have endeavored to reason down this plain principle: some have palliated it; but there is not one, I believe, who does not more or less admit it. Some, nay most, I believe, have admitted the slave trade to be the chief cause of wars in Africa. . . .

Having now disposed of the first part of this subject, I must speak of the transit of the slaves in the West Indies. This, I confess, in my own opinion, is the most wretched part of the whole subject. So much misery condensed in so little room is more than the human imagination had ever before conceived. I will not accuse the Liverpool merchants; I will allow, them, nay, I will believe them, to be men of humanity; and I will therefore believe, if it were not for the multitude of these wretched objects, if it were not for the enormous magnitude and extent of the evil which distracts their attention from individual cases, and makes them think generally, and therefore less feelingly on the subject, they never would have persisted in the trade. I verily believe, therefore, if the wretchedness of any one of the many hundred negroes stowed in each ship could be brought before their view, and remain within the sight of the African merchant, that there is no one among them whose heart would bear it. Let any one imagine to himself six or seven hundred of these wretches chained two and two, surrounded with every object that is nauseous and disgusting, diseased, and struggling under every kind of wretchedness! How can we bear to think of such a scene as this? One would think it had been determined to heap on them all the varieties of bodily pain, for the purpose of blunting the feelings of the mind; and yet, in this very point (to show the power of human prejudice), the situation of the slaves has been described by Mr. Norris, one of the Liverpool delegates, in a manner which I am sure will convince the House how interest can draw a film over the eyes, so thick, that total blindness could do no more; and how it is our duty therefore to trust not to the reasonings of interested men, or to their way of coloring a transaction. "Their apartments," says Mr. Norris, "are fitted up as much for their advantage as circumstances will admit. The right ankle of one, indeed, is connected with the left ankle of another by a small

iron fetter, and if they are turbulent, by another on their wrists. They have several meals a day; some of their own country provisions, with the best sauces of African cookery; and by the way of variety, another meal of pulse, etc., according to European taste. After breakfast they have water to wash themselves, while their apartments are perfumed with frankincense and lime juice. Before dinner they are amused after the manner of their country. The song and the dance are promoted," and, as if the whole were really a scene of pleasure and dissipation, it is added that games of chance are furnished. "The men play and sing, while the women and girls make fanciful ornaments with beads, which they are plentifully supplied with." Such is the sort of strain in which the Liverpool delegates, and particularly Mr. Norris, gave evidence before the privy council. What will the House think when, by the concurring testimony of other witnesses, the true history is laid open. The slaves, who are sometimes described as rejoicing at their captivity, are so wrung with misery at leaving their country, that it is the constant practice to set sail in the night, lest they should be sensible of their departure. The pulse which Mr. Norris talks of are horse beans; and the scantiness of both water and provision was suggested by the very legislature of Jamaica, in the report of their committee, to be a subject that called for the interference of Parliament.

Mr. Norris talks of frankincense and lime juice; when the surgeons tell you the slaves are stowed so close that there is not room to tread among them; and when you have it in evidence from Sir George Younge, that even in a ship which wanted two hundred of her complement, the stench was intolerable. The song and the dance are promoted, says Mr. Norris. It had been more fair, perhaps, if he had explained that word "promoted." The truth is, that for the sake of exercise, these miserable wretches, loaded with chains, oppressed with disease and wretchedness, are forced to dance by the terror of the lash, and sometimes by the actual use of it. "I," says one of the other evidences, "was employed to dance the men, while another person danced the women." Such, then, is the meaning of the word "promoted"; and it may be observed too, with respect to food, that an instrument is sometimes carried out, in order to force them to eat, which is the same sort of proof how much they enjoy themselves in that instance also. As to their singing, what shall we say when we are told that their songs are songs of lamentation upon their

departure which, while they sing, are always in tears, insomuch that one captain (more humane as I should conceive him, therefore, than the rest) threatened one of the women with a flogging, because the mournfulness of her song was too painful for his feelings. In order, however, not to trust too much to any sort of description, I will call the attention of the House to one species of evidence, which is absolutely infallible. Death, at least, is a sure ground of evidence, and the proportion of deaths will not only confirm, but, if possible, will even aggravate our suspicion of their misery in the transit. It will be found, upon an average of all ships of which evidence has been given at the privy council, that, exclusive of those who perish before they sail, not less than twelve and one-half per cent. perish in the passage. Besides these, the Jamaica report tells you that not less than four and one-half per cent. die on shore before the day of sale, which is only a week or two from the time of landing. One-third more die in the seasoning, and this in a country exactly like their own, where they are healthy and happy, as some of the evidences would pretend. The diseases, however, which they contract on shipboard, the astringent washes which are to hide their wounds, and the mischievous tricks used to make them up for sale, are, as the Jamaica report says,—a most precious and valuable report, which I shall often have to advert to,—one principal cause of this mortality. Upon the whole, however, here is a mortality of about fifty per cent., and this among negroes who are not bought unless quite healthy at first, and unless (as the phrase is with cattle) they are sound in wind and limb. How then can the House refuse its belief to the multiplied testimonies, before the privy council, of the savage treatment of the negroes in the middle passage? Nay, indeed, what need is there of any evidence? The number of deaths speaks for itself, and makes all such inquiry superfluous. As soon as ever I had arrived thus far in my investigation of the slave trade, I confess to you, sir, so enormous, so dreadful, so irremediable did its wickedness appear, that my own mind was completely made up for the abolition. A trade founded in iniquity, and carried on as this was, must be abolished, let the policy be what it might,—let the consequences be what they would, I from this time determined that I would never rest till I had affected its abolition. . . .

When we consider the vastness of the continent of Africa; when we reflect how all other countries have for some centuries

past been advancing in happiness and civilization; when we think how in this same period all improvement in Africa has been defeated by her intercourse with Britain; when we reflect that it is we ourselves that have degraded them to that wretched brutishness and barbarity which we now plead as the justification of our guilt; how the slave trade has enslaved their minds, blackened their character, and sunk them so low in the scale of animal beings that some think the apes are of a higher class, and fancy the orang-outang has given them the go-by. What a mortification must we feel at having so long neglected to think of our guilt, or attempt any reparation! It seems, indeed, as if we had determined to forbear from all interference until the measure of our folly and wickedness was so full and complete; until the impolicy which eventually belongs to vice was become so plain and glaring that not an individual in the country should refuse to join in the abolition; it seems as if we had waited until the persons most interested should be tired out with the folly and nefariousness of the trade, and should unite in petitioning against it.

Let us then make such amends as we can for the mischiefs we have done to the unhappy continent; let us recollect what Europe itself was no longer ago than three or four centuries. What if I should be able to show this House that in a civilized part of Europe, in the time of our Henry VII., there were people who actually sold their own children? What if I should tell them that England itself was that country? What if I should point out to them that the very place where this inhuman traffic was carried on was the city of Bristol? Ireland at that time used to drive a considerable trade in slaves with these neighboring barbarians; but a great plague having infested the country, the Irish were struck with a panic, suspected (I am sure very properly) that the plague was a punishment sent from heaven for the sin of the slave trade, and therefore abolished it. All I ask, therefore, of the people of Bristol is, that they would become as civilized now as Irishmen were four hundred years ago. Let us put an end at once to this inhuman traffic — let us stop this effusion of human blood. The true way to virtue is by withdrawing from temptation; let us then withdraw from these wretched Africans those temptations to fraud, violence, cruelty, and injustice, which the slave trade furnishes. Wherever the sun shines, let us go round the world with him, diffusing our beneficence; but let us not traffic, only that we may set kings against

their subjects, subjects against their kings, sowing discord in every village, fear and terror in every family, setting millions of our fellow-creatures a-hunting each other for slaves, creating fairs and markets for human flesh through one whole continent of the world, and, under the name of policy, concealing from ourselves all the baseness and iniquity of such a traffic. Why may we not hope, ere long, to see Hans-towns established on the coast of Africa as they were on the Baltic? It is said the Africans are idle, but they are not too idle, at least, to catch one another; seven hundred to one thousand tons of rice are annually bought of them; by the same rule why should we not buy more? At Gambia one thousand of them are seen continually at work; why should not some more thousands be set to work in the same manner? It is the slave trade that causes their idleness and every other mischief. We are told by one witness: "They sell one another as they can"; and while they can get brandy by catching one another, no wonder they are too idle for any regular work.

I have one word more to add upon a most material point; but it is a point so self-evident that I shall be extremely short. It will appear from everything which I have said, that it is not regulation, it is not mere palliatives, that can cure this enormous evil. Total abolition is the only possible cure for it. The Jamaica report, indeed, admits much of the evil, but recommends it to us so to regulate the trade, that no persons should be kidnaped or made slaves contrary to the custom of Africa. But may they not be made slaves unjustly, and yet by no means contrary to the custom of Africa? I have shown they may; for all the customs of Africa are rendered savage and unjust through the influence of this trade; besides, how can we discriminate between the slaves justly and unjustly made? or, if we could, does any man believe that the British captains can, by any regulation in this country, be prevailed upon to refuse all such slaves as have not been fairly, honestly, and uprightly enslaved? But granting even that they should do this, yet how would the rejected slaves be recompensed? They are brought, as we are told, from three or four thousand miles off, and exchanged like cattle from one hand to another, until they reach the coast. We see then that it is the existence of the slave trade that is the spring of all this internal traffic, and that the remedy cannot be applied without abolition. Again, as to the middle passage, the evil is radical

there also; the merchant's profit depends upon the number that can be crowded together, and upon the shortness of their allowance. Astringents, escarotics, and all the other arts of making them up for sale, are of the very essence of the trade; these arts will be concealed both from the purchaser and the legislature; they are necessary to the owner's profit, and they will be practiced. Again, chains and arbitrary treatment must be used in transporting them; our seamen must be taught to play the tyrant, and that depravation of manners among them (which some very judicious persons have treated of as the very worst part of the business) cannot be hindered, while the trade itself continues. As to the slave merchants, they have already told you that if two slaves to a ton are not permitted, the trade cannot continue; so that the objections are done away by themselves on this quarter; and in the West Indies, I have shown that the abolition is the only possible stimulus whereby a regard to population, and consequently to the happiness of the negroes, can be effectually excited in those islands.

I trust, therefore, I have shown that upon every ground the total abolition ought to take place. I have urged many things which are not my own leading motives for proposing it, since I have wished to show every description of gentlemen, and particularly the West India planters, who deserve every attention, that the abolition is politic upon their own principles also. Policy, however, sir, is not my principle, and I am not ashamed to say it. There is a principle above everything that is political; and when I reflect on the command which says: "Thou shalt do no murder," believing the authority to be Divine, how can I dare to set up any reasonings of my own against it? And, sir, when we think of eternity, and of the future consequences of all human conduct, what is there in this life that should make any man contradict the dictates of his conscience, the principles of justice, the laws of religion, and of God. Sir, the nature and all the circumstances of this trade are now laid open to us; we can no longer plead ignorance, we cannot evade it, it is now an object placed before us, we cannot pass it; we may spurn it, we may kick it out of our way, but we cannot turn aside so as to avoid seeing it; for it is brought now so directly before our eyes that this House must decide, and must justify to all the world, and to their own consciences, the rectitude of the grounds and principles of their decision. A society has been established for the

abolition of this trade, in which Dissenters, Quakers, Churchmen — in which the most conscientious of all persuasions have all united, and made a common cause in this great question. Let not Parliament be the only body that is insensible to the principles of national justice. Let us make reparation to Africa, so far as we can, by establishing a trade upon true commercial principles, and we shall soon find the rectitude of our conduct rewarded by the benefits of a regular and a growing commerce.

JOHN WILKES

(1727–1797)

JOHN WILKES, one of the most effective agitators against the Tory policies of the eighteenth century, was born at Clerkenwell, London, October 17th, 1727. His father, a rich distiller, educated him at the University of Leyden, where he became proficient in the classical languages and where supposably he lost the restraining influence of the English scholastic tradition. At any rate, when he entered public life as a Member of Parliament in 1757, and journalism a little later as editor of the North Briton, he developed such power as no other Englishman had ever shown to disturb and exasperate the conservative and aristocratic classes. He was imprisoned in the Tower because of a criticism of the king's message published in the North Briton, April 23d, 1763, and in November of the same year, on motion of Lord North, the Administration majority in the House of Commons ordered that number of the paper to be publicly burned. On January 19th, 1764, he was expelled from the House of Commons, and on February 21st convicted in default in the King's Bench. At this time he was living in Paris, and for several years he remained on the continent, supported by contributions from the English Whigs. In 1768 he returned to England, ran for Parliament, and, on his election from Middlesex, was expelled by the Tories, February 3d, 1769. Middlesex re-elected him, and, when the Tories refused to seat him, re-elected him a third and a fourth time. When finally Wilkes's opponent, whom he had defeated by vote of more than four to one, was declared lawfully elected, the indignation of the Whigs was intense. Wilkes was in jail at the time under the old judgment, and his cell became, for the time being, headquarters for the Whig party. Money was liberally subscribed and issues were forced, until he was released from prison and elected alderman, sheriff, and finally Lord Mayor of London. In 1782 the resolutions invalidating his election to Parliament were expunged, and he served until 1790. During the period of Tory activity which forced the war with America, he uttered strenuous warnings against the policy which finally lost the colonies and created the United States. "The Americans will triumph!" he said in 1775; "the whole continent of North America will be dismembered from England and the wide arch of the raised empire fall." He died September 20th, 1797, after having lived to see his prophecy fulfilled.

A WARNING AND A PROPHECY

(Delivered in the House of Commons, February 6th, 1775)

I AM, indeed, surprised that in a business of so much moment as this before the House, respecting the British colonies in America, a cause which comprehends almost every question relative to the common rights of mankind, almost every question of policy and legislation, it should be resolved to proceed with so little circumspection, or rather with so much precipitation and heedless imprudence. With what temerity are we assured that the same men who have been so often overwhelmed with praises for their attachment to this country, for their forwardness to grant it the necessary succors, for the valor they have signalized in its defense, have all at once so degenerated from their ancient manners as to merit the appellation of seditious, ungrateful, impious rebels! But if such a change has, indeed, been wrought in the minds of this most loyal people, it must at least be admitted that affections so extraordinary could only have been produced by some very powerful cause. But who is ignorant, who needs to be told of the new madness that infatuates our ministers?—who has not seen the tyrannical counsels they have pursued for the last ten years? They would now have us carry to the foot of the throne a resolution stamped with rashness and injustice, fraught with blood, and a horrible futurity. But before this be allowed them, before the signal of civil war be given, before they are permitted to force Englishmen to sheath their swords in the bowels of their fellow-subjects, I hope this House will consider the rights of humanity, the original ground and cause of the present dispute. Have we justice on our side? No; assuredly no. He must be altogether a stranger to the British Constitution who does not know that contributions are voluntary gifts of the people; and singularly blind not to perceive that the words "liberty and property," so grateful to English ears, are nothing better than mockery and insult to the Americans, if their property can be taken without their consent. And what motive can there exist for this new rigor, for these extraordinary measures? Have not the Americans always demonstrated the utmost zeal and liberality whenever their succors have been required by the mother country?

In the last two wars they gave you more than you asked for, and more than their facilities warranted; they were not only liberal towards you, but prodigal of their substance. They fought

gallantly and victoriously by your side, with equal valor, against our and their enemy, the common enemy of the liberties of Europe and America, the ambitious and faithless French, whom now we fear and flatter. And even now, at a moment when you are planning their destruction, when you are branding them with the odious appellation of rebels, what is their language, what their protestations? Read, in the name of heaven, the late petition of the Congress to the King, and you will find "they are ready and willing, as they ever have been, to demonstrate their loyalty by exerting their most strenuous efforts in granting supplies and raising forces when constitutionally required." And yet we hear it vociferated by some inconsiderate individuals that the Americans wish to abolish the Navigation Act; that they intend to throw off the supremacy of Great Britain. But would to God these assertions were not rather a provocation than the truth! They ask nothing, for such are the words of their petition, but for peace, liberty, and safety. They wish not a diminution of the royal prerogative; they solicit not any new right. They are ready, on the contrary, to defend this prerogative, to maintain the royal authority, and to draw closer the bonds of their connection with Great Britain. But our ministers, perhaps to punish others for their own faults, are sedulously endeavoring, not only to relax these powerful ties, but to dissolve and sever them forever. Their address represents the Province of Massachusetts as in a state of actual rebellion. The other Provinces are held out to our indignation, as aiding and abetting. Many arguments have been employed by some learned gentlemen among us to comprehend them all in the same offense, and to involve them in the same proscription.

Whether their present state is that of rebellion, or of a fit and just resistance to unlawful acts of power, to our attempts to rob them of their property and liberties, as they imagine, I shall not declare. But I well know what will follow, nor, however strange and harsh it may appear to some, shall I hesitate to announce it, that I may not be accused hereafter of having failed in duty to my country, on so grave an occasion, and at the approach of such direful calamities. Know, then, a successful resistance is a revolution, not a rebellion: Rebellion, indeed, appears on the back of a flying enemy, but revolution flames on the breastplate of the victorious warrior. Who can tell, whether, in consequence of this day's violent and mad address to his Majesty, the scabbard may not be thrown away by them, as well as

by us; and whether, in a few years, the independent Americans may not celebrate the glorious era of the Revolution of 1775, as we do that of 1668? The generous effort of our forefathers for freedom heaven crowned with success, or their noble blood had dyed our scaffolds, like that of Scottish traitors and rebels; and the period of our history which does us the most honor would have been deemed a rebellion against the lawful authority of the prince, not a resistance authorized by all the laws of God and man, not the expulsion of a detested tyrant.

But suppose the Americans to combat against us with more unhappy auspices than we combated James, would not victory itself prove pernicious and deplorable? Would it not be fatal to British as well as American liberty? Those armies which should subjugate the colonists would subjugate also their parent state. Marius, Sylla, Cæsar, Augustus, Tiberius, did they not oppress Roman liberty with the same troops that were levied to maintain Roman supremacy over subject provinces? But the impulse once given, its effects extended much further than its authors expected; for the same soldiery that destroyed the Roman republic subverted and utterly demolished the imperial power itself. In less than fifty years after the death of Augustus, the armies destined to hold the provinces in subjection proclaimed three emperors at once, disposed of the empire according to their caprice, and raised to the throne of the Cæsars the object of their momentary favor.

I can no more comprehend the policy than acknowledge the justice of your deliberations. Where is your force, what are your armies, how are they to be recruited, and how supported? The single Province of Massachusetts has, at this moment, thirty thousand men, well trained and disciplined, and can bring, in case of emergency, ninety thousand into the field; and, doubt not, they will do it, when all that is dear is at stake, when forced to defend their liberty and property against their cruel oppressors. The right honorable gentleman with the blue riband assures us that ten thousand of our troops and four Irish regiments will make their brains turn in the head a little, and strike them aghast with terror. But where does the author of this exquisite scheme propose to send his army? Boston, perhaps, you may lay in ashes, or it may be made a strong garrison; but the Province will be lost to you. You will hold Boston as you hold Gibraltar, in the midst of a country which will not be yours; the whole American continent will remain in the power of your enemies. The ancient story of the philosopher Calanus and the Indian hide

will be verified; where you tread, it will be kept down; but it will rise the more in all other parts. Where your fleets and armies are stationed, the possession will be secured while they continue; but all the rest will be lost. In the great scale of empire, you will decline, I fear, from the decision of this day; and the Americans will rise to independence, to power, to all the greatness of the most renowned states,—for they build on the solid basis of general public liberty.

I dread the effects of the present resolution; I shudder at our injustice and cruelty; I tremble for the consequences of our imprudence. You will urge the Americans to desperation. They will certainly defend their property and liberties, with the spirit of freemen, with the spirit our ancestors did, and I hope we should exert on a like occasion. They will sooner declare themselves independent, and risk every consequence of such a contest, than submit to the galling yoke which administration is preparing for them. Recollect Philip II., King of Spain; remember the Seven Provinces, and the Duke of Alva. It was deliberated in the council of the monarch what measures should be adopted respecting the Low Countries; some were disposed for clemency, others advised rigor; the second prevailed. The Duke of Alva was victorious, it is true, wherever he appeared; but his cruelties sowed the teeth of the serpent. The beggars of the Briel, as they were called by the Spaniards, who despised them as you now despise the Americans, were those however, who first shook the power of Spain to the centre. And, comparing the probabilities of success in the contest of that day, with the chances in that of the present, are they so favorable to England as they were then to Spain? This none will pretend. You all know, however, the issue of that sanguinary conflict—how that powerful empire was rent asunder, and severed forever into many parts. Profit, then, by the experience of the past, if you would avoid a similar fate. But you would declare the Americans rebels; and to your injustice and oppression you add the most opprobrious language and the most insulting scoffs. If you persist in your resolution all hope of a reconciliation is extinct. The Americans will triumph—the whole continent of North America will be dismembered from Great Britain, and the wide arch of the raised empire fall. But I hope the just vengeance of the people will overtake the authors of these pernicious counsels, and the loss of the first Province of the empire be speedily followed by the loss of the heads of those ministers who first invented them.

WILLIAM WIRT

(1772–1834)

WILLIAM WIRT, lawyer, orator, and author, celebrated for his prosecution of Aaron Burr, for his 'Life of Patrick Henry,' and for his essays and addresses, was born at Bladensburg, Maryland, November 8th, 1772, and educated there in the local grammar school and by private tutors. After studying law he settled in Virginia in 1795, beginning his professional career in a village near Charlottesville. Removing to Richmond in 1799, he became clerk of the House of Delegates and Chancellor of the eastern district of Virginia. During this period of his career, he achieved his first literary celebrity as a contributor to the Richmond Enquirer, and as the author of the 'Letters of the British Spy' in the Virginia Argus. In 1807 he assisted at the prosecution of Aaron Burr for treason, and in the same year was elected to the Virginia House of Delegates. Between 1816 and 1829 he served as United States Attorney for Virginia, and for three successive terms as Attorney-General of the United States. During the Masonic agitation of 1832 he allowed the anti-Masonic party to use his name at the head of their Presidential ticket, and the electoral vote of Vermont was cast for him. He died February 18th, 1834. His essays are likely to keep their place as representative of the American literature of his time, but his work of most permanent importance is, no doubt, the 'Sketches of the Life and Character of Patrick Henry.'

DEATH OF JEFFERSON AND ADAMS

(Peroration of an Address Delivered at Washington, October 19th, 1826)

THOSE who surrounded the death-bed of Mr. Jefferson report that in the few short intervals of delirium that occurred, his mind manifestly relapsed to the age of the Revolution. He talked in broken sentences of the committees of safety, and the rest of that great machinery which he imagined to be still in action. One of his exclamations was: «Warn the committee to be on their guard»; and he instantly rose in his bed, with the help of his attendants, and went through the act of writing

a hurried note But these intervals were few and short. His reason was almost constantly upon her throne, and the only aspiration he was heard to breathe was the prayer that he might live to see the Fourth of July. When that day came, all that he was heard to whisper was the repeated ejaculation—*Nunc Domine dimittas*—"Now, Lord, let thy servant depart in peace!" And the prayer of the patriot was heard and answered.

The patriarch of Quincy, too, with the same certainty of death before him, prayed only for the protraction of his life to the same day. His prayer was also heard; and when a messenger from the neighboring festivities, unapprised of his danger, was deputed to ask him for the honor of a toast, he showed the object on which his dying eyes were fixed and exclaimed with energy: "Independence forever!" His country first, his country last, his country always!

"O save my country—Heaven! he said—and died!"

Hitherto, fellow-citizens, the Fourth of July had been celebrated among us, only as the anniversary of our independence, and its votaries had been merely human beings. But at its last recurrence,—the great jubilee of the nation—the anniversary, it may well be termed, of the liberty of man,—heaven, itself, mingled visibly in the celebration, and hallowed the day anew by a double apotheosis. Is there one among us to whom this language seems too strong? Let him recall his own feelings, and the objection will vanish. When the report first reached us of the death of the great man whose residence was nearest, who among us was not struck with the circumstance that he should have been removed on the day of his own highest glory? And who, after the first shock of the intelligence had passed, did not feel a thrill of mournful delight at the characteristic beauty of the close of such a life. But while our bosoms were yet swelling with admiration at this singularly beautiful coincidence, when the second report immediately followed of the death of the great sage of Quincy on the same day,—I appeal to yourselves,—is there a voice that was not hushed, is there a heart that did not quail, at this close manifestation of the hand of heaven in our affairs? Philosophy, recovered of her surprise, may affect to treat the coincidence as fortuitous. But philosophy herself was mute, at the moment, under the pressure of the feeling that these illustrious men had rather been translated than had died.

It is in vain to tell us that men die by thousands every day in the year, all over the world. The wonder is not that two men have died on the same day, but that two such men, after having performed so many and such splendid services in the cause of liberty,—after the multitude of other coincidences which seem to have linked their destinies together—after having lived so long together the objects of their country's joint veneration—after having been spared to witness the great triumph of their toils at home—and looked together from Pisgah's top on the sublime effect of that grand impulse which they had given to the same glorious cause throughout the world,—should, on this fiftieth anniversary of the day on which they had ushered that cause into light, be both caught up to heaven together, in the midst of their raptures! Is there a being, of heart so obdurate and skeptical, as not to feel the hand and hear the voice of heaven in this wonderful dispensation! And may we not, with reverence, interpret its language? Is it not this? "These are my beloved servants in whom I am well pleased. They have finished the work for which I sent them into the world, and are now called to their reward. Go, ye, and do likewise!"

One circumstance, alone, remains to be noticed. In a private memorandum found among some other obituary papers and relics of Mr. Jefferson is a suggestion, in case a memorial over him should ever be thought of, that a granite obelisk, of small dimensions, should be erected, with the following inscription:—

HERE LIES BURIED
THOMAS JEFFERSON,
Author of the Declaration of Independence,
Of the Statutes of Virginia, for Religious Freedom,
And Father of the University of Virginia.

All the long catalogue of his great and splendid and glorious services reduced to this brief and modest summary!

Thus lived and thus died our sainted patriots! May their spirits still continue to hover over their countrymen, inspire all their counsels, and guide them in the same virtuous and noble path! And may that God, in whose hands are the issues of all things, confirm and perpetuate to us the inestimable boon, which through their agency he has bestowed; and make our Columbia the bright exemplar for all the struggling sons of liberty around the globe!

BURR AND BLENNERHASSET

(From the Speech at the Trial of Burr in Richmond, Virginia, May 1807)

LET us put the case between Burr and Blennerhassett. Let us compare the two men and settle this question of precedence between them. It may save a good deal of troublesome ceremony hereafter.

Who Aaron Burr is we have seen in part already. I will add that beginning his operations in New York, he associates with him men whose wealth is to supply the necessary funds. Possessed of the mainspring, his personal labor contrives all the machinery. Pervading the continent from New York to New Orleans, he draws into his plan, by every allurement which he can contrive, men of all ranks and descriptions. To youthful ardor he presents danger and glory; to ambition, rank and titles and honors; to avarice the mines of Mexico. To each person whom he addresses he presents the object adapted to his taste. His recruiting officers are appointed. Men are engaged throughout the continent. Civil life is indeed quiet upon its surface, but in its bosom this man has contrived to deposit the materials which, with the slightest touch of his match, produce an explosion to shake the continent. All this his restless ambition has contrived, and in the autumn of 1806 he goes forth for the last time to apply this match. On this occasion he meets with Blennerhassett.

Who is Blennerhassett? A native of Ireland, a man of letters who fled from the storms of his own country to find quiet in ours. His history shows that war is not the natural element of his mind. If it had been, he never would have exchanged Ireland for America. So far is an army from furnishing the society natural and proper to Mr. Blennerhassett's character, that on his arrival in America he retired even from the population of the Atlantic States, and sought quiet and solitude in the bosom of our Western forests. But he carried with him taste, and science, and wealth; and lo, the desert smiled! Possessing himself of a beautiful island in the Ohio, he rears upon it a palace, and decorates it with every romantic embellishment of fancy. A shrubbery that Shenstone might have envied blooms around him. Music that might have charmed Calypso and her nymphs is his. An extensive library spreads its treasures before him. A philo-

sophical apparatus offers to him all the secrets and mysteries of nature. Peace, tranquillity, and innocence shed their mingled delights around him. And to crown the enchantment of the scene, a wife, who is said to be lovely even beyond her sex, and graced with every accomplishment that can render it irresistible, had blessed him with her love, and made him the father of several children. The evidence would convince you that this is but a faint picture of the real life. In the midst of all this peace, this innocent simplicity, and this tranquillity, this feast of the mind, this pure banquet of the heart, the destroyer comes; he comes to change this paradise into a hell. Yet the flowers do not wither at his approach. No monitory shuddering through the bosom of their unfortunate possessor warns him of the ruin that is coming upon him. A stranger presents himself. Introduced to their civilities by the high rank which he had lately held in his country, he soon finds his way to their hearts by the dignity and elegance of his demeanor, the light and beauty of his conversation, and the seductive and fascinating power of his address. The conquest was not difficult. Innocence is ever simple and credulous. Conscious of no design itself, it suspects none in others. It wears no guard before its breast. Every door, and portal, and avenue of the heart is thrown open, and all who choose it enter. Such was the state of Eden when the serpent entered its bowers. The prisoner, in a more engaging form, winding himself into the open and unpracticed heart of the unfortunate Blennerhassett, found but little difficulty in changing the native character of that heart and the objects of its affection. By degrees he infuses into it the poison of his own ambition. He breathes into it the fire of his own courage; a daring and desperate thirst for glory; an ardor panting for great enterprises, for all the storm, and bustle, and hurricane of life. In a short time, the whole man is changed, and every object of his former delight is relinquished. No more he enjoys the tranquil scene; it has become flat and insipid to his taste. His books are abandoned. His retort and crucible are thrown aside. His shrubbery blooms and breathes its fragrance upon the air in vain; he likes it not. His ear no longer drinks the rich melody of music; it longs for the trumpet's clangor and the cannon's roar. Even the prattle of his babes, once so sweet, no longer affects him; and the angel smile of his wife, which hitherto touched his bosom with ecstasy so unspeakable, is now unseen and unfelt. Greater objects have taken possession of his

soul. His imagination has been dazzled by visions of diadems, of stars, and garters, and titles of nobility. He has been taught to burn with restless emulation at the names of great heroes and conquerors. His enchanted island is destined soon to relapse into a wilderness; and in a few months we find the beautiful and tender partner of his bosom, whom he lately "permitted not the winds of" summer "to visit too roughly," we find her shivering at midnight on the wintry banks of the Ohio, and mingling her tears with the torrents that froze as they fell. Yet this unfortunate man, thus deluded from his interest and his happiness, thus seduced from the paths of innocence and peace, thus confounded in the toils that were deliberately spread for him and overwhelmed by the mastering spirit and genius of another — this man thus ruined and undone and made to play a subordinate part in this grand drama of guilt and treason, this man is to be called the principal offender, while he, by whom he was thus plunged in misery, is comparatively innocent, a mere accessory! Is this reason? Is it law? Is it humanity? Sir, neither the human heart nor the human understanding will bear a perversion so monstrous and absurd! so shocking to the soul! so revolting to reason! Let Aaron Burr, then, not shrink from the high destination which he has courted, and, having already ruined Blannerhassett in fortune, character, and happiness, forever, let him not attempt to finish the tragedy by thrusting that ill-fated man between himself and punishment.

GENIUS AS THE CAPACITY FOR WORK

THE education, gentlemen, moral and intellectual, of every individual, must be, chiefly, his own work. How else could it happen that young men, who have had precisely the same opportunities, should be continually presenting us with such different results, and rushing to such opposite destinies? Difference of talent will not solve it, because that difference is very often in favor of the disappointed candidate.

You will see issuing from the walls of the same college — nay, sometimes from the bosom of the same family, two young men, of whom the one shall be admitted to be a genius of high order, the other scarcely above the point of mediocrity; yet you shall see the genius sinking and perishing in poverty, obscurity, and

wretchedness, while, on the other hand, you shall observe the mediocre plodding his slow, but sure way, up the hill of life, gaining steadfast footing at every step, and mounting, at length, to eminence and distinction, an ornament to his family, a blessing to his country.

Now, whose work is this? Manifestly their own. Men are the architects of their respective fortunes. It is the fiat of fate from which no power of genius can absolve you. Genius, unexerted, is like the poor moth that flutters around a candle till it scorches itself to death. If genius be desirable at all, it is only of that great and magnanimous kind, which, like the condor of South America, pitches from the summit of Chimborazo, above the clouds, and sustains itself, at pleasure, in that empyreal region, with an energy rather invigorated than weakened by the effort.

It is this capacity for high and long-continued exertion, this vigorous power of profound and searching investigation, this careering and widespreading comprehension of mind, and those long reaches of thought, that—

> "Pluck bright honor from the pale-faced moon,
> Or dive into the bottom of the deep,
> Where fathom line could never touch the ground,
> And drag up drownéd honor by the locks."

This is the prowess, and these the hardy achievements, which are to enroll your names among the great men of the earth.

JOHN WITHERSPOON

(1722–1794)

JOHN WITHERSPOON, President of Princeton College and Member of the Continental Congress, put posterity under obligation by reporting a number of his own speeches made in Congress between 1776 and 1782. These are valuable because they are among the very few speeches made in the Congress of that period which were reported at all, and because Witherspoon's interest in finance makes them frequently suggestive of the desperate straits to which Congress was put for resources. He was born in Scotland, February 5th, 1722, and educated at the University of Edinburgh. Beginning life as pastor of Presbyterian churches at Beith and Paisley, in Scotland, he published a number of works which attracted such attention that in November 1766 the trustees of Princeton College elected him to the Presidency of that institution and sent a representative to Paisley to solicit his acceptance. He came to America accordingly and was inaugurated August 17th, 1768. During the Revolution he took the side of the Colonists and was elected to the Continental Congress in June 1776, serving in various Congresses until 1792. He was one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence and the author of 'Considerations on the Nature and Extent of the Legislative Authority of the British Parliament.' His theological works and essays on various subjects were collected and published after his death, which occurred September 15th, 1794.

PUBLIC CREDIT UNDER THE CONFEDERATION

(From a Speech in the Continental Congress 1780)

I CANNOT help requesting Congress to attend to the state of those persons who held the loan-office certificates which drew interest on France; they are all, without exception, the firmest and fastest friends to the cause of America; they were in general the most firm and active and generous friends. Many of them advanced large sums in hard money to assist you in carrying on the war in Canada. None of them at all put away even the loan-

office certificates on speculation, but either from a generous intention of serving the public, or from an entire confidence in the public credit. There is one circumstance which ought to be attended to, namely, the promise of interest — bills on Europe were not made till the tenth of September, 1777. It was said a day or two ago, that those who sent in cash a little before March 1st, 1778, had, by the depreciated state of the money, received almost their principal; but this makes but a small part of the money, for there were but six months for the people to put in the money, after the promise was made; only the most apparent justice obliged Congress to extend the privilege to those who had put in their money before. Besides nothing can be more unequal and injurious than reckoning the money by the depreciation, either before or after the first of March, 1778, for a great part of the money in all the loan offices was such as had been paid up in its nominal value, in consequence of the Tender laws.

This points you, sir, to another class of people, from whom money was taken, namely, widows and orphans, corporations and public bodies. How many guardians were actually led, or, indeed, were obliged to put their depreciated and depreciating money in the funds — I speak from good knowledge. The trustees of the College of New Jersey, in June 1777, directed a committee of theirs to put all the money that should be paid up to them, in the loan office, so that they have now nearly invested all. Some put in before March 1778, and a greater part subsequent to that date. Now it must be known to everybody, that since the payment of the interest bills gave a value to these early loans, many have continued their interest in them, and rested in a manner wholly on them for support. Had they entertained the slightest suspicion that they would be cut off, they could have sold them for something, and applied themselves to other means of subsistence; but as the case now stands, you are reducing not an inconsiderable number of your very best friends to absolute beggary. During the whole period, and through the whole system of Continental money, your friends have suffered alone; the disaffected and lukewarm have always evaded the burden — have in many instances turned the sufferings of the country to their own account — have triumphed over the Whigs — and if the whole shall be crowned with this last stroke, it seems but reasonable that they should treat us with insult and derision. And what faith do you expect the public creditors should place in your promise of

ever paying them at all? What reason, after what is past, have they to dread that you will divert the fund which is now mentioned as a distant source of payment? If a future Congress should do this, it would not be one whit worse than what has been already done.

I wish, sir, this House would weigh a little the public consequences that will immediately follow this resolution. The grief, disappointment, and sufferings of your best friends have been already mentioned — then prepare yourselves to hear from your enemies the most insulting abuse. You will be accused of the most oppressive tyranny and the grossest fraud. If it be possible to poison the minds of the public by making this body ridiculous or contemptible, they will have the fairest opportunity of doing so that ever was put in their hands; but I must return to our plundered, long-ruined friends; we cannot say to what their rage and disappointment may bring them, we know that nothing on earth is so deeply resentful as despised or rejected love — whether they may proceed to any violent or disorderly measures, it is impossible to know. We have an old proverb, that the eyes will break through stone walls, and for my own part I should very much dread the furious and violent efforts of despair. Would to God that the independence of America was once established by a treaty of peace in Europe, for we know that in all great and fierce political contentions, the effect of power and circumstances is very great, and that if the tide has run long with great violence one way, if it does not fully reach its purpose and is by any means brought to a stand, it is apt to take a direction and return with the same, or greater, violence than it advanced. Must this be risked at a crisis when the people begin to be fatigued with the war; to feel the heavy expense of it by paying taxes, and when the enemy, convinced of their folly in their former severities, are doing everything they can to ingratiate themselves with the public at large? But though our friends should not be induced to take violent and seditious measures all at once, I am almost certain it will produce a particular hatred and contempt of Congress, the representative body of the Union, and still a greater hatred of the individuals who compose the body at this time. One thing will undoubtedly happen, that it will greatly abate the respect which is due from the public to this body, and, therefore, weaken their authority in all other parts of their proceedings.

I beg leave to say, sir, that in all probability it will lay the foundation for other greater and more scandalous steps of the same kind. You will say: What greater can there be? Look back a little to your history. The first great and deliberate breach of public faith was the Act of March 18th, 1780, reducing the money to forty for one, which was declaring you would pay your debt at sixpence in the pound. But did it not turn? No! by and by it was set in this State, and others, at seventy-five, and finally set one hundred and fifty for one, in new paper, in State paper, which in six months rose to four for one. Now, sir, what will be the case with these certificates? Before this proposal was known, their fixed price was about half a crown for a dollar, of the estimated depreciated value; when this resolution is fairly fixed, they will immediately fall in value, perhaps to a shilling the dollar, probably less. Multitudes of people in despair and absolute necessity will sell them for next to nothing, and when the holders come at last to apply for their money, I think it highly probable you will give them a scale of depreciation, and tell them they cost so little that it would be an injury to the public to pay the full value. And in truth, sir, supposing you finally to pay the full value of the certificates to the holders, the original and most meritorious proprietors will, in many, perhaps in most, cases, lose the whole.

It will be very proper to consider what effect this will have upon foreign nations; certainly it will set us in a most contemptible light. We are just beginning to appear among the powers of the earth, and it may be said of national, as of private, characters, they soon begin to form, and when disadvantageous ideas are formed, they are not easily altered or destroyed. In the very instance before us, many of these certificates are possessed by the subjects of foreign princes, and, indeed, are in foreign parts. We must not think that other sovereigns will suffer their subjects to be plundered in so wanton and extravagant a manner. You have on your files letters from the Count de Vergennes, on the subject of your former depreciation, in which he tells you that whatever liberty you take with your own subjects, you must not think of treating the subjects of France in the same way, and it is not impossible that you may hear upon this subject what you little expect, when the terms of peace are to be settled. I do not, in the least, doubt that it may be demanded that you should pay to the full of its nominal value, all the money, as well as

loan-office certificates, which shall be found in the hands of the subjects of France, Spain, or Holland, and it would be perfectly just. I have mentioned France, etc., but it is not only impossible, but highly probable, that by accident or design, or both, many of these loan-office certificates may be in the hands of English subjects. Do you think they will not demand payment? Do you think they will make any difference between their being before or after March 1st, 1778? And will you present them with a scale of depreciation? Remember the affair of the Canada bills, in the last peace between England and France. I wish we could take example from our enemies. How many fine dissertations have we upon the merit of national truth and honor in Great Britain. Can we think, without blushing, upon our contrary conduct in the matter of finance? By their punctuality in fulfilling their engagements as to interest, they have been able to support a load of debt, altogether enormous. Be pleased to observe, sir, that they are not wholly without experience of depreciation: navy debentures and sailors' tickets have been frequently sold at a half, and sometimes even at a third of their value; by that means they seem to be held by that class of men called by us "speculators." Did that Government ever think of presenting the holders of them, when they came to be paid, with a scale of depreciation? The very idea of it would knock the whole system of public credit to pieces.

But the importance of this matter will be felt before the end of the war. We are at this time earnestly soliciting foreign loans. With what face can we expect to have credit in foreign parts, and in future loans, after we have so notoriously broken every engagement which we have hitherto made? A disposition to pay, and visible, probable means of payment, are absolutely necessary to credit; and where that is once established, it is not difficult to borrow. If it may be a means of turning the attention of Congress to this subject, I beg of them to observe that if they could but lay down a foundation of credit, they would get money enough to borrow in this country where we are. There is property enough here; and, comparatively speaking, there is a greater number of persons here who would prefer money at interest to purchasing and holding real estate. The ideas of all old-country people are high in favor of real estate. Though the interest of money, even upon the very best security there, is from four to four and a-half, four and three-quarters, and five per centum, yet

when any real estate is to be sold, there will be ten purchasers where one only can obtain it, and it will cost so much as not to bring more than two, two and a-half, and at most three per centum.

It is quite otherwise in this country, and, indeed, it ought to be otherwise. To purchase an estate in the cultivated parts of the country, except what a man possesses himself, will not be near so profitable as the interest of money; and in many cases where it is rented out, it is so wasted and worn by the tenant that it would be a greater profit at the end of seven years that the land had been left to itself, to bear woods and bushes that should rot upon the ground, without any rent at all. Anybody also may see that it is almost universal in this country when a man dies leaving infant children, that the executors sell all his property to turn it into money, and put it in securities for easy and equal division.

All these things, Mr. President, proceed upon certain and indubitable principles which never fail of their effect. Therefore, you have only to make your payments as soon, as regular, and as profitable as other borrowers, and you will get all the money you want, and by a small advantage over others, it will be poured in upon you, so that you shall not need to go to the lenders, for they will come to you.

JOHN WYCKLIFFE

(*c.* 1324–1384)

JOHN WYCKLIFFE, who was called for his eloquence the "Morning Star of the Reformation," made about 1382 the first complete translation of the Bible ever made into English. He may be called the father of English prose in a more literal sense than that in which Chaucer is usually spoken of as the father of English poetry, for it is through his translation of the Bible that modern English became fixed and distinct from the Anglo-Norman court dialect on the one hand, and the Anglo-Saxon "Middle English" dialects of the common people on the other. He was born near Richmond in Yorkshire about 1324, and educated at Oxford, where in 1300 he became Master of Baliol College. Leaving Oxford, he became Rector of a parish in Lincolnshire. After work as a priest in other country parishes, he went to Bruges with John of Gaunt as an embassador, and, on his return, settled in London, where his oratory made him at once celebrated among the masses and disliked by the higher orders of the clergy, whose political power he antagonized. From this time until his death, December 31st, 1384, he was involved in constant controversies. In 1425, by order of the synod of Constance, his bones were dug up and burned. The ashes were cast into the Swift, a brook which flows into the Avon. "And thus," says an old writer, "this brook did convey his ashes into the Avon, and the Avon into the Severn, and the Severn into the narrow sea, and this into the wide ocean; so the ashes of Wyckliffe are the emblem of his doctrine,—it is now dispersed all over the world."

A RULE FOR DECENT LIVING

IF THOU be a lord, look thou live a rightful life in thine own person, both anent God and man, keeping the hests of God, doing the works of mercy, ruling well thy five wits, and doing reason and equity and good conscience to all men. The second time, govern well thy wife, thy children, and thy homely men in God's law, and suffer no sin among them, neither in word nor in deed, upon thy might, that they may be ensample of holiness and righteousness to all other. For thou shalt be damned for

their evil life and thine evil sufferance, but if thou amend it upon thy might. The third time, govern well thy tenants, and maintain them in right and reason and be merciful to them in their rents and worldly merriments, and suffer not thy officers to do them wrong nor extortions, and chastise in good manner them that be rebel against God's hests and virtuous living, more than for rebellion against thine own cause or person. And hold with God's cause, and love, reward, praise, and cherish the true and virtuous of life more than if they do only thine own profit and worship; and maintain truly, upon thy cunning and might, God's law and true preachers thereof, and God's servants in rest and peace, for by this reason thou holdest thy lordship of God. And if thou failest of this, thou forfeitest against God in all thy lordship, in body and soul; principally if thou maintainest Antichrist's disciples in their errors against Christ's life and his teaching, for blindness and worldly friendship, and helpest to slander and pursue true men that teach Christ's gospel and his life. And warn the people of their great sins, and of false priests and hypocrites that deceive Christian men, in faith and virtuous life, and worldly goods also.

If thou be a laborer, live in meekness, and truly and willfully do thy labor; that if thy lord or thy master be a heathen man, that by thy meekness and willful and true service, he have not to murmur against thee, nor slander thy God nor Christendom. And serve not Christian lords with murmuring, nor only in their presence, but truly and willfully in their absence, not only for worldly dread nor worldly reward, but for dread of God and good conscience, and for reward in heaven. For that God that putteth thee in such service wots what state is best for thee, and will reward thee more than all earthly lords may, if thou dost it truly and willfully for his ordinance. And in all things beware of murmuring against God and his visitation, in great labor and long, and great sickness and other adversities, and beware of wrath, of cursing and warying, or banning, of man or of beast. And ever keep patience and meekness and charity both to God and to man. And thus each man in these three states oweth to live, to save himself and help others; and thus should good life, rest, peace, and charity be among Christian men, and they be saved, and heathen men soon converted, and God magnified greatly in all nations and sects that now despise him and his law, for the wicked living of false Christian men.

GOOD LORE FOR SIMPLE FOLK

(From a Sermon on Luke v. 1)

THE story of this Gospel telleth good lore, how prelates should teach folk under them. The story is plain, how Christ stood by the river of Gennesaret, and fishers came down to wash therein their nets; and Christ went up into a boat that was Simon's and prayed him to move it a little from the land, and he sat and taught the people out of the boat. And when Christ ceased to speak, he said to Simon, lead the boat into the high sea, and let out your nets to taking of fish. And Simon answering said to him: "Commander, all the night travailing took we naught; but in thy word shall I loose the net." And when they had done this, they took a plenteous multitude of fish, and their net was broken. But they beckoned to their fellows that were in the other boat to come and help them; and they came and filled both boats of fish, so that well nigh were they both dreynt. And when Peter had seen this wonder, he fell down at Jesus' knee, and said: "Lord, go from me for I am a sinful man." For Peter held him not worthy to be with Christ, nor dwell in his company; for wonder came to them all in taking of these fishes. And so wondered James and John, Zebedee's sons, that were Simon's fellows. And Jesus said to Simon, from this time shalt thou be taking men. And they set their boats to the land, and forsook all that they had, and sued Christ.

Before we go to spiritual understanding of this Gospel, we shall wit that the same Christ's Disciple that was first cleped Simon, was cleped Peter after of Christ, for sadness of belief that he took of Christ, which Christ is a corner-stone, and groundeth all truth. Over this we shall understand that the Apostles were cleped of Christ in many degrees; first they were cleped and accepted to be Christ's Disciples; and yet they turned again, as Christ himself ordained, to live in the world. After they were cleped to see Christ's miracles, and to be more homely with him than they were before; but yet they turned again to the world by times, and lived worldly life, to profit of folk that they dwelt with. And in this wise Peter, James, and John went now to fish. But the third cleping and the most was this,—that the Apostles forsook wholly the world and worldly things, and turned not again to worldly life, as after this miracle Peter and

his fellows sued Christ continually. It is no need to dip us in this story more than the Gospel telleth, as it is no need to busy us what hight Tobies' hound. Hold we us appeased in the measure that God hath given us, and dream we not about new points that the Gospel leaveth, for this is a sin of curiosity that harmeth more than profiteth. The story of this Gospel telleth us ghostly wit, both of life of the Church and meedful works, and this should we understand, for it is more precious. Two fishings that Peter fished betokeneth two takings of men unto Christ's religion, and from the fiend to God. In this first fishing was the net broken, to token that many men be converted, and aftér break Christ's religion; but at the second fishing, after the resurrection, when the net was full of many great fishes, was not the net broken, as the Gospel saith; for that betokeneth saints that God chooseth to heaven. And so these nets that fishers fish with betokeneth God's law, in which virtues and truths be knitted; and other properties of nets tell properties of God's law; and void places between knots betokeneth life of kind, that men have beside virtues. And four cardinal virtues be figured by knitting of the net. The net is broad in the beginning, and after strait in the end, to teach that men, when they be turned first, live a broad worldly life; but afterward, when they be dipped in God's law, they keep them straitlier from sins. These fishers of God should wash their nets in his river, for Christ's preachers should chevely tell God's law, and not meddle with man's law, that is troubled water; for man's law containeth sharp stones and trees, by which the net of God is broken and fishes wend out to the world. And this betokeneth Gennesaret, that is, a wonderful birth, for the birth by which a man is born of water and of the Holy Ghost is much more wonderful than man's kindly birth. Some nets be rotten, some have holes, and some be unclean for default of washing; and thus on three manners faileth the word of preaching. And matter of this net and breaking thereof give men great matter to speak God's word, for virtues and vices and truths of the Gospel be matter enough to preach to the people.

MERCY TO DAMNED MEN IN HELL

(From a Sermon on the Text [Vulgate], *Simile est regnum cælorum homini*, Matthew 18–23)

THIS Gospel telleth by a parable how by right judgment of God men should be merciful. The kingdom of heaven, saith Christ, is like to an earthly king that would reckon with his servants. And when he had begun to reckon, one was offered unto him that owed him ten thousand besants, and when he had not to pay of, the Lord bade he should be sold, his wife and his children and all that he had, and that that he ought the Lord should be allgates paid. This servant fell down and prayed the Lord and said: "Have patience with me, and I shall quit thee all." The Lord had mercy on him, and forgave him all his debt. This servant went out and found one of his debtors that ought him a hundred pence, and took him and strangled him, and bade him pay his debt. And his servant fell down and prayed him of patience, and he should by time yield him all that he ought him. But this man would not, and went out and put him in prison, till he had paid the debt that he owed him. And other servants of this man, when they saw this deed, mourned full much, and told all this to the Lord. And the Lord cleped him, and said unto him: "Wicked servant, all thy debt I forgave thee, for thou prayedst me; behooved it not thee to have mercy on thy servant, as I had mercy on thee?" And the Lord was wroth, and gave him to tormentors, till he had paid all the debt that he ought him. On this manner, said Christ, shall my Father of heaven do to you, but if you forgive, each one to his brother, of your free heart, the trespass that he hath done him.

The kingdom of heaven is holy church of men that now travail here; and this church by his head is like to a man king, for Christ, head of this church, is both God and man. This king would reckon with his servants, for Christ hath will without end to reckon with men at three times. First, Christ reckoneth with men when he teacheth them by reason how much they have had of him, and how much they owe him; the second time Christ reckoneth with men, when in the hour of man's death he telleth them at what point these men shall ever justly stand; the third reckoning is general, and that shall be at the day of doom, when

this judgment generally shall be openly done in deed. As anent the first reckoning, Christ reckoneth with rich men of this world, and showeth them how much they owe him, and showeth by righteousness of his law how they and theirs should be sold, and so make amends by pain of things that they performed not in deed. But many such men for a time have compunction in heart, and pray God of his grace to have patience in them, and they shall in this life serve to Christ truly. And so Christ forgiveth them upon this condition. But they wend out, and sue not Christ their Lord in mercy, but oppress their servants that owe them but a little debt, and put them in prison, and think not on God's mercy, and other servants of God, both in this life and in the other, tell to God this fellness, and pray him of vengeance. No doubt, God is wroth at this, and at two reckonings with man he reasoneth this cruel man, and judgeth him justly to pain.

And therefore Christ biddeth, by Luke, all men to be merciful, for their Father of heaven that shall judge them is merciful. But we should understand by this that this mercy that Christ asketh is nothing against reason, and so by this just mercy men should sometime forgive, and sometime should they punish, but ever by reason of mercy. The reason of mercy standeth in this; that which men might do cruelly they (may) do justly for God's sake to amendment of men; and men may mercifully reprove men, and punish them, and take of them their just debts for bettering of these debtors. On this manner doth God that is full of mercy, and saith that he reproveth and chastiseth his wanton children that he loveth; and thus Christ reproved Pharisees, and punished priests with other people, and punisheth mercifully all damned men in hell, for it standeth not with his right that he punish but mercifully. God giveth goods of kind by grace to these men that he damneth, and if he punished them more, yet he meddleth mercy. But here men should beware that all the goods that they have be goods of their God, and they naked servants of God; and thus should they warily flee to take their own vengeance, but venge injury of God and intend amendment. Thus Christ, meekest of all, suffered his own injury in two temptations of the fiend, but in the third he said: "Go, Satan," and proved him sharply by authority of God. Thus Moses, mildest man of all, killed many thousand of his folk, for they worshiped a calf as they should worship God. And thus in our works of mercy lieth much discretion, for oft times our mercy asketh to

venge and to punish men, and else justices of man's law should never punish men to the death, but oft times they do amiss, and they wit not when they do well, and so religion of priests should leave such judgments.

CONCERNING A GRAIN OF CORN

(*Nisi granum frumenti.*—John xii. 24)

PHILOSOPHERS doubt whether (the) seed loseth his form when it is made a new thing, as the Gospel speaketh here; and some men think nay, for sith the same quantity or quality or virtue that was first in seed, liveth after in the fruit, as a child is often like to his father or his mother, or else to his eld father, after that the virtue lasteth,—and sith all these be accidents, that may not dwell without subject,—it seemeth that the same body is first seed and after fruit, and thus it may oft change from seed to fruit and again. Here many, cleped philosophers, glaver diversely; but in this matter God's law speaketh thus, as did eld clerks, that the substance of a body is before that it be seed, and now fruit and now seed, and now quick and now dead. And thus many forms must be together in one thing, and specially when the parts of that thing be meddled together; and thus the substance of a body is now of one kind and now of another. And so both these accidents, quality and quantity, must dwell in the same substance, all if it be changed in kinds, and thus this same thing that is now a wheat corn shall be dead and turn to grass, and after to many corns. But variance in words in this matter falleth to clerks, and showing of equivocation the which is more ready in Latin; but it is enough to us to put, that the same substance is now quick and now dead, and now seed and now fruit; and so that substance that is now a wheat corn must needs die before that it is made grass, and sith be made a whole ear. And thus speaketh Holy Writ and no man can disprove it. Error of freres in this matter is not here to rehearse, for it is enough to tell how they err in belief.

SIR WILLIAM WYNDHAM

(1687–1740)

SIR WILLIAM WYNDHAM'S attack on Sir Robert Walpole, made during the debate on the repeal of the Septennial Act, was celebrated during the eighteenth century as one of the best examples of skillful political invective. Wyndham was leader of the opposition to Walpole in the House of Commons, and he made, by indirection, charges which neither he nor his partisans were prepared to prove. Wyndham was born in Somersetshire, England, in 1687. Educated at Eton and at Christ Church, Oxford, he entered Parliament in 1710; became Secretary at War in 1711, and Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1713. On the accession of George I. in 1714, he was dismissed from office, and in 1715 he was sent to the Tower on suspicion of being concerned in a Jacobite plot. There was no real evidence against him, however, and he was released. Returning to the House of Commons, he became an opposition leader, and acquired celebrity for his eloquence. He died July 17th, 1740. He must not be confounded with William Windham (1750–1810), who was Secretary of State for War and the Colonies in the "Ministry of all the Talents," under Lord Grenville.

ATTACK ON SIR ROBERT WALPOLE

(Delivered in the House of Commons on a Motion for the Repeal of the Septennial Act, March 13th, 1734)

WE HAVE been told, sir, in this House, that no faith is to be given to prophecies. Therefore I shall not pretend to prophesy; but I may suppose a case, which, though it has not yet happened, may possibly happen. Let us then suppose, sir, a man abandoned to all notions of virtue or honor, of no great family, and of but a mean fortune, raised to be Chief Minister of State by the concurrence of many whimsical events; afraid or unwilling to trust any but creatures of his own making, and most of them equally abandoned to all notions of virtue or honor; ignorant of the true interest of his country, and consulting nothing but that of enriching and aggrandizing himself

and his favorites; in foreign affairs, trusting none but those whose education makes it impossible for them to have such knowledge or such qualifications as can either be of service to their country or give any weight or credit to their negotiations. Let us suppose the true interest of the nation, by such means, neglected or misunderstood; her honor and credit lost; her trade insulted; her merchants plundered; and her sailors murdered; and all these things overlooked, only for fear his administration should be endangered. Suppose him next possessed of great wealth, the plunder of the nation, with a Parliament of his own choosing, most of their seats purchased, and their votes bought at the expense of the public treasure. In such a Parliament, let us suppose attempts made to inquire into his conduct, or to relieve the nation from the distress he has brought upon it; and when lights proper for attaining those ends are called for, not perhaps for the information of the particular gentlemen who call for them, but because nothing can be done in a parliamentary way till these things be in a proper way laid before Parliament; suppose these lights refused, these reasonable requests rejected by a corrupt majority of his creatures, whom he retains in daily pay, or engages in his particular interest, by granting them those posts and places which ought never to be given to any but for the good of the public. Upon this scandalous victory let us suppose this chief minister pluming himself in defiance, because he finds he has got a Parliament, like a packed jury, ready to acquit him at all adventures. Let us further suppose him arrived to that degree of insolence and arrogance, as to domineer over all men of ancient families, all the men of sense, figure, or fortune in the nation, and, as he had no virtue of his own, ridiculing it in others and endeavoring to destroy or corrupt it in all.

I am still not prophesying, sir; I am only supposing; and the case I am going to suppose I hope never will happen. But with such a minister and such a Parliament, let us suppose a prince upon the throne, either for want of true information, or for some other reason, ignorant and unacquainted with the inclinations and the interest of his people; weak and hurried away by unbounded ambition and insatiable avarice. This case, sir, has never yet happened in this nation. I hope, I say, it will never exist. But as it is possible it may, could there any greater curse happen to a nation than such a prince on the throne, advised, and solely advised, by such a minister, and that minister

supported by such a Parliament? The nature of mankind cannot be altered by human laws; the existence of such a Parliament I think we may suppose. And as such a Parliament is much more likely to exist, and may do more mischief while the Septennial Law remains in force, than if it were repealed, therefore I am most heartily for the repeal of it.

ROYAL PREROGATIVE DELEGATED FROM THE PEOPLE

(Delivered in Parliament on the Army Bill in 1734)

THE gentlemen who have been pleased to speak against this proposition have all of them asserted, I find, sir, that should it take place, it would alter the very being of our Constitution; from whence we must conclude that these gentlemen think that the very being of our Constitution consists, not only in having a standing army, but in having that army absolutely and entirely dependent on the Crown, which is an opinion so directly contrary to that which every man ought to have about our Constitution, that I am sorry to hear of its being entertained by any gentleman who has the honor of being a Member of this House. I wish those gentlemen would consider a little better the nature or the being of our Constitution, and the many alterations that have, from time to time, crept into it; if they do, they will find no greater novelty, nor can they find one more dangerous than that of a standing army. It is not as yet, I hope, a part of our Constitution, and, therefore, what is now proposed cannot be an alteration of our Constitution; it is, indeed, so far otherwise, that the very design of it is to prevent our Constitution's being altered by a standing army's being hereafter made a part of it; or at least to make that army less dangerous in case it should become absolutely necessary for us always to keep up a standing army.

We have likewise been told, sir, that the prerogative of the Crown is a part of our Constitution, and the lessening the power of the Crown, or robbing the Crown of its prerogative (as gentlemen have been pleased to call it), is an alteration of our Constitution. For my own part, sir, I have no notion of any legal power or prerogative but what is for the benefit of the community; nor do I think that any power can be legal but what is originally derived from the community, and it is certain that all the power that is or can be given by the people must be given

for their own protection and defense. Therefore, if the people should afterwards find that they have given too much; if they should begin to foresee that the power they have given may come to be of dangerous consequence to themselves, have not they reason, have not they a right to take back what part of it they think necessary for their own safety? This, sir, is the proper footing upon which the present debate ought to be put, and, taking it upon this footing, suppose that this power of removing the officers of the army were a part of the ancient prerogative of the Crown; if the Parliament should foresee that this power might be made a bad use of, that it might easily be turned towards enslaving the people, would not the people have a right to take it from the Crown; would it not be their duty to do so; nay, ought not the Crown willingly and freely to give it up?

Gentlemen have next endeavored to frighten us with the effects of this proposition, should it be passed into a law; they say we would soon see what such an independence in the army would turn to; but, for God's sake, sir, is not the army to be still as much dependent upon King and Parliament as ever they were before? If it should be but suspected that any officer, or any number of officers, were going to attempt anything against King and Parliament, could not the King immediately suspend them, or even put them under arrest; and could not the Parliament, as soon as they met, address his Majesty to remove them? Upon this occasion, I shall beg leave, sir, to state the difference of the two cases: In the one case, an army entirely dependent on the Crown, so much at the mercy of the Crown, that, let the merit of those gentlemen in their military capacity be never so great; let their fidelity to their King and country be never so conspicuous; let their past services be never so meritorious; yet, if they do not implicitly obey all the orders they shall receive from the Crown, or rather from the favorite minister of the Crown; if they do not submit to propagate the most slavish schemes of a projecting minister, they may probably be turned out of their employments in the army; and thus, after having worn out their youth and vigor in the service of their country, they may at last, and in their old age, be turned adrift, and reduced to a starving condition. In the other case, an army under no such servile dependence, having no reason to doubt of preferment according to their merit, and certain they could not be turned out of the places they have purchased by their long serv-

ices, without being guilty of some crime or of some dishonorable behavior; and having the Constitution and the laws of their country as a security for their enjoying all those advantages as long as they live, is it not, sir, an easy matter to determine, in which of these cases an army may be of most danger, or of most service, to the Constitution of this country?

I will allow all that has been said about the virtue of those who are at present the officers of our army; about their being Englishmen, and everything else that has been said, or can be said, in favor of the characters of those gentlemen; but still they are men, and everybody knows that those who have a dependence, perhaps for the whole they have in the world, must be something more than men, if they act with the same freedom that they would do if they were under no such influence or dependence: It is certain; I hope the gentlemen of the other side of the question, even those gentlemen who now stand up so zealously for the prerogative, will grant that ours is a limited monarchy: Our Constitution depends upon its not being in the power of the Crown to break through those limits which are prescribed by law, or to manage so as to render them quite ineffectual; for when either of these comes to be the case, our Constitution will be at an end; the monarchy can no longer be said to be limited, any more than a man can be said to be under any restraint, who, though locked up in a room, has the keys in his pocket, and may open the door when he pleases; or has proper materials at hand, and may break the doors open, and walk out whenever he has a mind. We are, therefore, never to give a power to the Crown, we ought not to leave the Crown in the possession of a power, which may enable any future King to shake off all those limitations, which the royal power ought by our Constitution to be subject to: And in this view I leave it to every gentleman to consider, whether a standing army, under the present circumstances, or under the regulations now proposed, does portend most danger to our Constitution. For my own part, I think the case so plain, I think the dangers portended, from what is now proposed, so chimerical, that I am surprised to hear the motion opposed by any gentleman who pretends to have the liberties or the happiness of his country truly at heart.

But in particular, sir, I must at present observe that if no notice should be taken of what has lately happened; if no such provision as is intended by the bill now moved for should be

made, and we should enter into a war, as is now likely we may be obliged to do, what encouragement can young gentlemen of noble and ancient families have to go into the army, when they consider that after having often ventured their lives in the service of their country, after having honorably acquired some preferment in the army, and afterwards, by a natural and a family interest, are come to have seats in Parliament, they must then be obliged to forfeit all those preferments they have so honorably acquired, or otherwise to make themselves prostitutes to an infamous and wicked administration? After this melancholy consideration, sir, can it be presumed that any gentleman of honor will engage with that alacrity in the army, as he would do, if he were assured of preserving and enjoying whatever posts he may have in the army, with the same honor and integrity with which he acquired them? This, sir, makes it more particularly necessary at present to agree to the proposition now made to us; and as I think it makes no encroachment upon our Constitution, but is, upon the contrary, a very necessary amendment; as I think it for the honor of Parliament, and no way inconsistent with the honor or safety of the Crown, I shall therefore most heartily agree to it.

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ÉMILE ZOLA.

After a Portrait by Burney.

ÉMILE ZOLA

(1840–)

ÉMILE ZOLA, after making an international reputation by his novels, forced himself to the front of French politics in 1898 by becoming the champion of Captain Dreyfus against the administration which, after a mere form of trial, had convicted him of selling French military secrets to a foreign power. On January 10th, 1898, Major Walsin-Esterhazy was acquitted after a secret trial by court-martial on charges preferred by the brother of Captain Dreyfus that he was the real author of the memorandum or bordereau which Captain Dreyfus was accused of having prepared for the German Government. Three days after the acquittal of Walsin-Esterhazy, Zola published the celebrated «I Accuse» letter to President Faure which resulted as he had expected in his own arrest. His trial for libel, which was really the first public hearing of the Dreyfus case, began February 2d, 1898, and on February 22d, he delivered his celebrated appeal to the jury,—an appeal intended to force a new trial for Dreyfus rather than to secure an acquittal for himself. Convicted of libel as it was generally expected he would be, Zola absented himself from Paris without ceasing, however, to promote the agitation which finally forced the rehearing of the Dreyfus case and the «pardon» of that victim of French militarism. Zola's address to the jury is one of the most important documents in the political history of the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The text here given is from the London Times of February 23d, 1898, compared with the text given in Mr. Benjamin R. Tucker's report of the Zola trial. (New York, 1898.)

HIS APPEAL FOR DREYFUS

(Delivered in Paris, February 22d, 1898, at the Zola Trial for Libel)

IN THE Chamber at the sitting of January 22d, M. Méline, the Prime Minister declared, amid the frantic applause of his complaisant majority, that he had confidence in the twelve citizens to whose hands he intrusted the defense of the army. It was of you, gentlemen, that he spoke. And just as General Billot

dictated its decision to the court-martial intrusted with the acquittal of Major Esterhazy, by appealing from the tribune for respect for the *chose jugée*, so likewise M. Méline wished to give you the order to condemn me "out of respect for the army," which he accuses me of having insulted!

I denounce to the conscience of honest men this pressure brought to bear by the constituted authorities upon the justice of the country. These are abominable political practices which dishonor a free nation. We shall see, gentlemen, whether you will obey.

But it is not true that I am here in your presence by the will of M. Méline. He yielded to the necessity of prosecuting me only in great trouble, in terror of the new step which the advancing truth was about to take. This everybody knew. If I am before you, it is because I wished it. I alone decided that this obscure, this abominable affair, should be brought before your jurisdiction, and it is I alone of my free will who chose you, you, the loftiest, the most direct emanation of French justice, in order that France, at last, may know all, and give her decision. My act had no other object, and my person is of no account. I have sacrificed it in order to place in your hands, not only the honor of the army, but the imperiled honor of the nation.

It appears that I was cherishing a dream in wishing to offer you all the proofs, considering you to be the sole worthy, the sole competent judge. They have begun by depriving you with the left hand of what they seemed to give you with the right. They pretended, indeed, to accept your jurisdiction, but if they had confidence in you to avenge the members of the court-martial, there were still other officers who remained superior even to your jurisdiction. Let who can understand. It is absurdity doubled with hypocrisy, and it shows clearly that they dreaded your good sense,—that they dared not run the risk of letting us tell all and of letting you judge the whole matter. They pretend that they wished to limit the scandal. What do you think of this scandal,—of my act which consisted in bringing the matter before you,—in wishing the people, incarnate in you, to be the judge? They pretend also that they could not accept a revision in disguise, thus confessing that in reality they have but one fear, that of your sovereign control. The law has in you its complete representation, and it is this chosen law of the people that I have wished for,—this law which, as a good citizen, I

hold in profound respect, and not the suspicious procedure by which they hoped to make you a laughingstock.

I am thus excused, gentlemen, for having brought you here from your private affairs without being able to inundate you with the full flood of light of which I dreamed. The light, the whole light,—this was my sole, my passionate desire! And this trial has just proved it. We have had to fight step by step against an extraordinarily obstinate desire for darkness. A battle has been necessary to obtain every atom of truth. Everything has been refused us. Our witnesses have been terrorized in the hope of preventing us from proving our case. And it is on your behalf alone that we have fought, that this proof might be put before you in its entirety, so that you might give your opinion on your consciences without remorse. I am certain, therefore, that you will give us credit for our efforts, and that, I feel sure too that sufficient light has been thrown upon the affair.

You have heard the witnesses; you are about to hear my counsel, who will tell you the true story, the story that maddens everybody and that everybody knows. I am, therefore, at my ease. You have the truth at last, and it will do its work. M. Méline thought to dictate your decision by intrusting to you the honor of the army. And it is in the name of the honor of the army that I too appeal to your justice.

I give M. Méline the most direct contradiction. Never have I insulted the army. I spoke on the contrary of my sympathy, my respect for the nation in arms, for our dear soldiers of France, who would rise at the first menace to defend the soil of France. And it is just as false that I attacked the chiefs, the generals who would lead them to victory. If certain persons at the War Office have compromised the army itself by their acts, is it to insult the whole army to say so? Is it not rather to act as a good citizen to separate it from all that compromises it, to give the alarm, so that the blunders which alone have been the cause of our defeat shall not occur again, and shall not lead us to fresh disaster.

I am not defending myself, moreover. I leave history to judge my act, which was a necessary one; but I affirm that the army is dishonored when gendarmes are allowed to embrace Major Esterhazy after the abominable letters written by him. I affirm that that valiant army is insulted daily by the bandits who,

on the plea of defending it, sully it by their degrading championship,—who trail in the mud all that France still honors as good and great. I affirm that those who dishonor that great national army are those who mingle cries of « *Vive l'armée!* » with those of « *A bas les juifs!* » and « *Vive* Esterhazy! » Grand Dieu! the people of Saint Louis, of Bayard, of Condé, and of Hoche, the people which counts a hundred great victories, the people of the great wars of the Republic and the Empire, the people whose power, grace, and generosity have dazzled the world, crying « *Vive* Esterhazy! » It is a shame the stain of which our efforts on behalf of truth and justice can alone wipe out!

You know the legend which has grown up: Dreyfus was condemned justly and legally by seven infallible officers, whom it is impossible even to suspect of a blunder without insulting the whole army. Dreyfus expiates in merited torments his abominable crime, and as he is a Jew, a Jewish syndicate is formed, an international *sans patrie* syndicate disposing of hundreds of millions, the object of which is to save the traitor at any price, even by the most shameless intrigues. And thereupon this syndicate began to heap crime on crime, buying consciences, precipitating France into a disastrous tumult, resolved on selling her to the enemy, willing even to drive all Europe into a general war rather than renounce its terrible plan.

It is very simple, nay childish, if not imbecile. But it is with this poisoned bread that the unclean press has been nourishing our poor people now for months. And it is not surprising if we are witnessing a dangerous crisis; for when folly and lies are thus sown broadcast, you necessarily reap insanity.

Gentlemen, I would not insult you by supposing that you have yourselves been duped by this nursery tale. I know you; I know who you are. You are the heart and the reason of Paris, of my great Paris, where I was born, which I love with an infinite tenderness, which I have been studying and writing of now for forty years. And I know likewise what is now passing in your brains; for, before coming to sit here as defendant, I sat there on the bench where you are now. You represent there the average opinion; you try to illustrate prudence and justice in the mass. Soon I shall be in thought with you in the room where you deliberate, and I am convinced that your effort will be to safeguard your interests as citizens, which are, of course, the interests of the whole nation. You may make a mistake, but you will do so in

the thought that while securing your own weal you are securing the weal of all.

I see you at your homes at evening under the lamp; I hear you talk with your friends; I accompany you into your factories and shops. You are all workers — some tradesmen, others manufacturers, some professional men; and your very legitimate anxiety is the deplorable state into which business has fallen. Everywhere the present crisis threatens to become a disaster. The receipts fall off; transactions become more and more difficult. So that the idea which you have brought here, the thought which I read in your countenances, is that there has been enough of this and that it must be ended. You have not gone the length of saying, like many: "What matters it that an innocent man is at the Île du Diable? Is the interest of a single man worth this disturbing a great country?" But you say, nevertheless, that the agitation which we are carrying on, we who hunger for truth and justice, costs too dearly! And if you condemn me, gentlemen, it is that thought which will be at the bottom of your verdict. You desire tranquillity for your homes, you wish for the revival of business, and you may think that by punishing me you will stop a campaign which is injurious to the interests of France.

Well, gentlemen, if that is your idea, you are entirely mistaken. Do me the honor of believing that I am not defending my liberty. By punishing me you would only magnify me. Whoever suffers for truth and justice becomes august and sacred. Look at me. Have I the look of a hireling, of a liar, and a traitor? Why should I be playing a part? I have behind me neither political ambition nor sectarian passion. I am a free writer, who has given his life to labor; who to-morrow will go back to the ranks and resume his interrupted task. And how stupid are those who call me an Italian; — me, born of a French mother, brought up by grandparents in the Beauce, peasants of that vigorous soil; me, who lost my father at seven years of age, who never went to Italy till I was fifty-four. And yet I am proud that my father was from Venice, — the resplendent city whose ancient glory sings in all memories. And even if I were not French, would not the forty volumes in the French language, which I have sent by millions of copies throughout the world, suffice to make me a Frenchman?

So I do not defend myself. But what a blunder would be yours if you were convinced that by striking me you would

reëstablish order in our unfortunate country! Do you not understand now that what the nation is dying of is the darkness in which there is such an obstinate determination to leave her? The blunders of those in authority are being heaped upon those of others; one lie necessitates another, so that the mass is becoming formidable. A judicial blunder was committed, and then to hide it, it has been necessary to commit every day fresh crimes against good sense and equity! The condemnation of an innocent man has involved the acquittal of a guilty man, and now to-day you are asked in turn to condemn me because I have cried out in my anguish on beholding our country embarked on this terrible course. Condemn me, then! But it will be one more error added to the others—a fault the burden of which you will bear in history. And my condemnation, instead of restoring the peace for which you long, and which we all of us desire, will be only a fresh seed of passion and disorder. The cup, I tell you, is full; do not make it run over!

Why do you not judge justly the terrible crisis through which the country is passing? They say that we are the authors of the scandal, that we who are lovers of truth and justice are leading the nation astray and urging it to violence. Surely this is a mockery! To speak only of General Billot,—was he not warned eighteen months ago? Did not Colonel Picquart insist that he should take up the matter of revision, if he did not wish the storm to burst and destroy everything? Did not M. Scheurer-Kestner, with tears in his eyes, beg him to think of France, and save her such a calamity? No! our desire has been to make peace, to allay discontent, and, if the country is now in trouble, the responsibility lies with the power, which, to cover the guilty, and in the furtherance of political ends, has denied everything, hoping to be strong enough to prevent the truth from being revealed. It has manœuvred in behalf of darkness, and it alone is responsible for the present distraction of the public conscience!

The Dreyfus case, gentlemen, has now become a very small affair. It is lost in view of the formidable questions to which it has given rise. There is no longer a Dreyfus case. The question now is whether France is still the France of the rights of man, the France which gave freedom to the world, and ought to give it justice. Are we still the most noble, the most fraternal, the most generous of nations? Shall we preserve our reputation in Europe for justice and humanity? Are not all the victories

that we have won called in question? Open your eyes, and understand that, to be in such confusion, the French soul must have been stirred to its depths in face of a terrible danger. A nation cannot be thus moved without imperiling its moral existence. This is an exceptionally serious hour; the safety of the nation is at stake.

When you have understood that, gentlemen, you will feel that but one remedy is possible,—to tell the truth, to do justice. Anything that keeps back the light, anything that adds darkness to darkness, will only prolong and aggravate the crisis. The duty of good citizens, of all who feel it to be imperatively necessary to put an end to this matter, is to demand broad daylight. There are already many who think so. The men of literature, philosophy, and science are rising in the name of intelligence and reason. And I do not speak of the foreigner, of the shudder that has run through all Europe. Yet the foreigner is not necessarily the enemy. Let us not speak of the nations that may be our opponents to-morrow. But great Russia, our ally; little and generous Holland; all the sympathetic nations of the north; those countries of the French language, Switzerland and Belgium,—why are their hearts so heavy, so overflowing with sympathetic suffering? Do you dream, then, of an isolated France? Do you prefer, when you pass the frontier, not to meet the smile of approval for your historic reputation for equity and humanity?

Alas! gentlemen, like so many others, you expect the thunderbolt to descend from heaven in proof of the innocence of Dreyfus. Truth does not come thus. It requires research and knowledge. We know well where the truth is, or where it might be found. But we dream of that only in the recesses of our souls, and we feel patriotic anguish lest we expose ourselves to the danger of having this proof some day cast in our face after having involved the honor of the army in a falsehood. I wish also to declare positively that, though, in the official notice of our list of witnesses, we included certain embassadors, we had decided in advance not to call them. Our boldness has provoked smiles. But I do not think that there was any real smiling in our foreign office, for there they must have understood! We intended to say to those who know the whole truth that we also know it. This truth is gossiped about at the embassies; to-morrow it will be known to all, and, if it is now impossible for us to seek it where it is concealed by official red tape, the Government which is

not ignorant,—the Government which is convinced as we are,—of the innocence of Dreyfus, will be able, whenever it likes and without risk, to find witnesses who will demonstrate everything.

Dreyfus is innocent. I swear it! I stake my life on it—my honor! At this solemn moment, in the presence of this tribunal which is the representative of human justice, before you, gentlemen, who are the very incarnation of the country, before the whole of France, before the whole world, I swear that Dreyfus is innocent. By my forty years of work, by the authority that this toil may have given me, I swear that Dreyfus is innocent. By all I have now, by the name I have made for myself, by my works which have helped for the expansion of French literature, I swear that Dreyfus is innocent. May all that melt away, may my works perish if Dreyfus be not innocent! He is innocent. All seems against me—the two Chambers, the civil authority, the most widely-circulated journals, the public opinion which they have poisoned. And I have for me only an ideal of truth and justice. But I am quite calm; I shall conquer. I was determined that my country should not remain the victim of lies and injustice. I may be condemned here. The day will come when France will thank me for having helped to save her honor.

NOTED SAYINGS AND CELEBRATED PASSAGES

THE «Noted Sayings and Celebrated Passages» here given are frequently to be found in the orations published in the body of the work, but in collecting them the intention was to make them rather a supplement than a repetition. The rule has been not to go beyond the province of oratory to find such passages, but in a few cases of obvious necessity (*e. g.*, «Innocuous Desuetude» and «Benevolent Assimilation») public documents and other authorities have been quoted to show the source of phrases often used by speakers. Where it was not practicable to quote a phrase verbatim in classifying, a caption has been added giving as closely as possible the idea of the passage. In addition to this, the passages are indexed by authors in the Table of Contents of this volume.

Address to the Army of Italy — Napoleon Bonaparte: Soldiers, you are precipitated like a torrent from the heights of the Apennines; you have overthrown and dispersed all that dared to oppose your march. Piedmont, rescued from Austrian tyranny, is left to its natural sentiments of regard and friendship to the French. Milan is yours; and the republican standard is displayed throughout all Lombardy. The Dukes of Parma and Modena are indebted for their political existence only to your generosity.

The army, which so proudly menaced you, has had no other barrier than its dissolution to oppose your invincible courage. The Po, the Tessen, the Adda, could not retard you a single day. The vaunted bulwarks of Italy were insufficient. You swept them with the same rapidity that you did the Apennines. Those successes have carried joy into the bosom of your country. Your representatives decreed a festival dedicated to your victories, and to be celebrated throughout all the communes of the republic. Now your fathers, your mothers, your wives, and your sisters will rejoice in your success, and take pride in their relation to you.

All Men Fit for Freedom — Father «Tom» Burke: The Parliament of 1872 was a failure, I grant it. Mr. Froude says that that Parliament was a failure because the Irish are incapable of self-legislation. It is a serious charge to make now against any people, my friends. I who am not supposed to be a philosopher, and, because of the habit that I wear, am supposed not to be a man of very large mind — I stand up here to-night and I assert my conviction that there is not a nation or a race under the sun that is not capable of self-legislation, and that has not a right to the inheritance of freedom.—*From his reply to Froude, New York, 1872.*

Altruism — Henry D. Estabrooke: I need scarcely to explain to this audience that the deep moral principle underlying the War of the Rebellion, its motive and real provocative, was altogether obscured in the fierce jargon of polemical debates and constitutional refinements. No party could have hoped to win with «Abolition» in its platform. Yet God knew, Lincoln knew, Grant knew, the subconsciousness of the people realized, that slavery must go. Was ever such a masquerade with fate? But oh! my friends, it is one thing to fight for one's own manhood — our forefathers did that; Patrick Henry proclaimed it; and Washington vindicated the proclamation; it is quite another thing to fight for manhood in the abstract — for the freedom of others, and they the weakest, forlornest, most unfriended of all creatures. It was precisely this altruistic awakening which made the War of the Rebellion the holiest of all time. It stands unique, the one unselfish warfare in the history of the world.

Selfishness has been the motive force of life since Adam delved and Eve spun. We have been taught that «talons and claws» is Nature's supremest law. So it could not have been wholly a human impulse which drove man to pour out their blood «like dust,» as Job puts it, in defense of a sentiment they scarcely understood — so novel that it bewildered consciousness. No, it was the Golden Rule grown militant.—*From an address delivered at Galena, Ill., 1895.*

Andocides — Against Epichares, One of the Thirty Tyrants: Speak, slanderer, accursed knave — is this law valid or not valid? Invalid, I imagine, only for this reason,— that the operation of the laws must be dated from the archonship of Eucleides. So you live, and walk about this city, as you little deserve to do; you who, under the democracy, lived by

pettifogging, and under the oligarchy—lest you should be forced to give back all the profits of that trade—became the instrument of the Thirty.

The truth is, judges, that as I sat here, while he accused me, and as I looked at him, I fancied myself nothing else than a prisoner at the bar of the Thirty. Had this trial been in their time, who would have been accusing me? Was not this man ready to accuse, if I had not given him money? He has done it now. . . .

Can you suppose, judges, that my fate, as your champion, would have been other than this, if I had been caught by the Tyrants? I should have been destroyed by them, as they destroyed many others, for having done no wrong to Athens.—*From the speech on the Mysteries, delivered at Athens, c. 417 B. C.*

Antiphon—Unjust Prosecutions: The God, when it was his will to create mankind, begat the earliest of our race and gave us for nourishers the earth and sea, that we might not die, for want of needful sustenance, before the term of old age. Whoever, then, having been deemed worthy of these things by the God, lawlessly robs any one among us of life, is impious towards heaven and confounds the ordinances of men. The dead man, robbed of the God's gift, necessarily bequeaths, as that God's punishment, the anger of avenging spirits—anger which unjust judges or false witnesses, becoming partners in the impiety of the murderer, bring, as a self-sought defilement, into their own houses. We, the champions of the murdered, if for any collateral enmity we prosecute innocent persons, shall find, by our failure to vindicate the dead, dread avengers in the spirits which hear his curse; while, by putting the pure to a wrongful death, we become liable to the penalties of murder, and, in persuading you to violate the law, responsible for your sin also.—*From the Third Tetralogy of Antiphon (born at Athens, c. 480 B. C.)*

Arbitrary Power Anarchical—Edmund Burke: Law and arbitrary power are in eternal enmity. Name me a magistrate, and I will name property; name me power, and I will name protection. It is a contradiction in terms, it is blasphemy in religion, it is wickedness in politics, to say that any man can have arbitrary power.

Arbitrary Power and Conquest—Edmund Burke: Arbitrary power is not to be had by conquest. Nor can any sovereign have it by succession; for no man can succeed to fraud, rapine, and violence. Those who give and those who receive arbitrary power are alike criminal; and there is no man but is bound to resist it to the best of his power, wherever it shall show its face to the world.

Armament not Necessary—Richard Cobden: I sometimes quote the United States of America; and I think in this matter of national defense, they set us a very good example. Does anybody dare to attack that nation? There is not a more formidable power, in every sense of the word,—although you may talk of France and Russia,—than the United States of America; and there is not a statesman with a head on his shoulders who does not know it, and yet the policy of the United States has been to keep a very small amount of armed force in existence. At the present moment, they have not a line-of-battle ship afloat, notwithstanding the vast extension of their commercial marine.—*From a speech delivered in 1850.*

Bancroft, George—Individual Sovereignty and Vested Right in Slaves: The slave born on our soil always owed allegiance to the General Government. It may in time past have been a qualified allegiance, manifested through his master, as the allegiance of a ward through its guardian, or of an infant through its parent. But when the master became false to his allegiance, the slave stood face to face with his country; and his allegiance, which may before have been a qualified one, became direct and immediate. His chains fell off, and he rose at once in the presence of the nation, bound, like the rest of us, to its defense. Mr. Lincoln's proclamation did but take notice of the already existing right of the bondman to freedom. The treason of the master made it a public crime for the slave to continue his obedience; the treason of a state set free the collective bondmen of that state.

This doctrine is supported by the analogy of precedents. In the times of feudalism the treason of the lord of the manor deprived him of his serfs; the spurious feudalism that existed among us differs in many respects from the feudalism of the Middle Ages, but so far the precedent runs parallel with the present case; for treason the master then, for treason the master now, loses his slaves.

In the Middle Ages the sovereign appointed another lord over the serfs and the lands which they cultivated; in our day the sovereign makes them masters of their own persons, lords over themselves.—*From a speech on the death of President Lincoln in 1865.*

Bayonets as Agencies of Reconciliation—Chatham: How can America trust you, with the bayonet at her breast? How can she suppose that you mean less than bondage or death? I therefore move that an address be presented to his Majesty, advising that immediate orders be despatched to General Gage, for removing his Majesty's forces from the town of Boston. The way must be immediately opened for reconciliation.

Beck, James M.—Expansion and the Spanish War: Our nation is to-day feeling that instinct of expansion which is the predominant characteristic of the Anglo-Saxon race. It is bred in our bone and courses with our life-blood, and the statesmen of our day must take it into account and endeavor to wisely control it. There is with us, as with our great mother empire, a national instinct for territorial growth, so powerful and accurate, that statesmen of

every school, willing or unwilling, have found themselves carried along by a tendency which no individuality can resist or greatly modify.» We could as hopefully bid the Mississippi cease its flow toward the sea, or the Missouri to remain chained within its rocky sources, as to prevent the onward movement of this great, proud, generous, and aggressive people. This was true of the day of our weakness, it is true in this, the day of our strength.—*From an oration at the Omaha Exposition in 1898.*

Benevolent Assimilation — *William McKinley: Finally it should be the earnest and paramount aim of the military administration to win the confidence, respect, and affection of the inhabitants of the Philippines by so saving them in every possible way that full measure of individual rights and liberty which is the heritage of free people, and by proving to them that the mission of the United States is one of benevolent assimilation, substituting the mild sway of justice and right for arbitrary rule.—*From instructions sent to General Otis, December 27th, 1898, signed by the President, December 21st.*

Benevolent Assimilation and Manifest Providence — Reverend Doctor Wayland Hoyt, of Philadelphia: Christ is the solution of the difficulty regarding national expansion. There never was a more manifest Providence than the waving of Old Glory over the Philippines. The only thing we can do is to thrash the natives until they understand who we are. I believe every bullet sent, every cannon shot, every flag waved means righteousness.—*March 1899.*

Beveridge, A. J.— Just Government and the Consent of the Governed: The Declaration of Independence does not forbid us to do our part in the regeneration of the world. If it did, the Declaration would be wrong, just as the Articles of Confederation drafted by the very same men who signed the Declaration was found to be wrong. The Declaration has no application to the present situation. It was written by self-governing men for self-governing men. It was written by men who, for a century and a half, had been experimenting in self-government on this continent, and whose ancestors for hundreds of years before had been gradually developing toward that high and holy estate. The Declaration applies only to people capable of self-government. How dare any man prostitute this expression of the very elect of self-governing peoples to a race of Malay children of barbarism, schooled in Spanish methods and ideas? And you, who say the Declaration applies to all men, how dare you deny its application to the American Indian? And if you deny it to the Indian at home, how dare you grant it to the Malay abroad?

The Declaration does not contemplate that all government must have the consent of the governed. It announces that man's «inalienable rights are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights governments are established among men deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that when any form of government becomes destructive of those rights, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it.» «Life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness» are the important things; «consent of the governed» is one of the means to those ends. If «any form of government becomes destructive of those ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it,» says the Declaration. «Any form» includes all forms. Thus the Declaration itself recognizes other forms of government than those resting on the consent of the governed. The word «consent» itself recognizes other forms, for «consent» means the understanding of the thing to which the «consent» is given; and there are people in the world who do not understand any form of government. And the sense in which «consent» is used in the Declaration is broader than mere understanding; for «consent,» in the Declaration, means participation in the government «consented» to. And yet these people who are not capable of «consenting» to any form of government must be governed. And so, the Declaration contemplates all forms of government which secure the fundamental rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; self-government, when that will best secure these ends, as in the case of people capable of self-government; other appropriate forms when people are not capable of self-government.—*From a speech in the United States Senate, January 10th, 1900, supporting a resolution to retain the Philippine Islands under such government as the situation demands.*

Bible and Sharp's Rifles — Henry Ward Beecher: You might just as well read the Bible to buffaloes as to those fellows who follow Atchison and Stringfellow; but they have a supreme respect for the logic that is embodied in Sharp's rifles.—*From a speech to a Kansas Immigration Meeting at Plymouth Church.*

Blifil and Black George — John Randolph: I was defeated — by the coalition of Blifil and Black George — by the combination, unheard of till then, of the Puritan with the blackleg. —*1826.*

Boston the Hub — Oliver Wendell Holmes: Boston statehouse is the hub of the solar system.—*1858.*

Brilliancy in Oratory — Quintilian: Brilliant thoughts I reckon the eyes of eloquence. But I would not have the body all eyes.

Burke, Father «Tom» — America and Ireland: There is another nation that understands Ireland, whose statesmen have always spoken words of brave encouragement, of tender sympathy, and of manly hope for Ireland in her dark days, and that nation is the United States of America — the mighty land placed by the Omnipotent Hand between the Far East on the one side, to which she stretches out her glorious arms over the broad Pacific, while on the other side she sweeps with uplifted hand over the

* «Beneficent» in some versions.

Atlantic and touches Europe. A mighty land, including in her ample bosom untold resources of every form of commercial and mineral wealth; a mighty land, with room for three hundred millions of men. The oppressed of all the world over are flying to her more than imperial bosom, there to find liberty and the sacred right of civil and religious freedom. Is there not reason to suppose that in the future which we cannot see to-day, but which lies before us, that America will be to the whole world what Rome was in the ancient days, what England was a few years ago, the great storehouse of the world, the great ruler—pacific ruler by justice of the whole world, her manufacturing power dispensing from out her mighty bosom all the necessaries and all the luxuries of life to the whole world around her? She may be destined, and I believe she is, to rise rapidly into that gigantic power that will overshadow all other nations.

When that conclusion does come to pass, what is more natural than that Ireland—now I suppose mistress of her destinies—should turn and stretch all the arms of her sympathy and love across the intervening waves of the Atlantic, and be received an independent State into the mighty confederation of America? Mind, I am not speaking treason. Remember I said distinctly that all this is to come to pass after Macaulay's New Zealander has arrived. America will require an emporium for her European trade, and Ireland lies there right between her and Europe with her ample rivers and vast harbors, able to shelter the vessels and fleets. America may require a great European storehouse, a great European hive for her manufactures. Ireland has enormous water power, now flowing idly to the sea, but which will in the future be used in turning the wheels set to these streams by American-Irish capital and Irish industry. If ever that day come, if ever that union come, it will be no degradation to Ireland to join hands with America, because America does not enslave her States; she accepts them on terms of glorious equality; she respects their rights, and blesses all who cast their lot with her.—*Peroration of the fifth address against Froude, New York, 1872.*

But One Life to Lose—Nathan Hale: I only regret that I have but one life to lose for my country.—*Last words on the scaffold, New York, September 22d, 1776.*

Canuleius—Against the Patricians (Paraphrased from Livy): This is not the first time, O Romans, that patrician arrogance has denied to us the rights of a common humanity. What do we now demand? First, the right of intermarriage; and then that the people may confer honors on whom they please. And why, in the name of Roman manhood, my countrymen,—why should these poor boons be refused? Why for claiming them, was I near being assaulted, just now in the senate house? Will the city no longer stand,—will the empire be dissolved,—because we claim that plebeians shall no longer be excluded from the consulship? Truly the patricians will, by and by, begrudge us a participation in the light of day; they will be indignant that we breathe the same air; that we share with them the faculty of speech; that we wear the forms of human beings!

Capital Punishment for Crimes Fostered by Misgovernment—Lord Byron: Are there not capital punishments sufficient in your statutes? Is there not blood enough upon your penal code, that more must be poured forth, to ascend to heaven and testify against you? How will you carry this bill into effect? Can you commit a whole country to their own prison? Will you erect a gibbet in every field, and hang up men like scarecrows? or will you proceed—as you must, to bring this measure into effect—by decimation; place the country under martial law; depopulate and lay waste all around you; and restore Sherwood Forest as an acceptable gift to the Crown, in its former condition of a royal chase, and an asylum for outlaws? Are these the remedies for a starving and desperate populace? Will the famished wretch who has braved your bayonets be appalled by your gibbets? When death is a relief, and the only relief, it appears, that you will afford him, will he be dragooned into tranquillity? Will that which could not be effected by your grenadiers be accomplished by your executioners?

Carrying War Into Africa—Scipio: In fact even though the war were not to be brought to a speedier conclusion by the method which I propose, still it would concern the dignity of the Roman people, and their reputation among foreign kings and nations, that we should appear to have spirit, not only to defend Italy, but to carry our arms into Africa; and that it should not be spread abroad, and believed, that no Roman general dared what Hannibal had dared; and that, in the former Punic War, when the contest was about Sicily, Africa had been often attacked by our fleets and armies; but that now, when the contest is about Italy, Africa should enjoy peace. Let Italy, so long harassed, enjoy at length some repose; let Africa, in its turn, feel fire and sword. Let the Roman camp press on the very gates of Carthage, rather than that we, a second time, should behold our walls the rampart of that of the enemy. Let Africa, in short, be the seat of the remainder of the war: thither be removed terror and flight, devastation of lands, revolt of allies, and all the other calamities with which, for fourteen years, we have been afflicted. It is sufficient that I have delivered my sentiments on those matters which affect the state, the dispute in which we are involved, and the provinces under consideration: my discourse would be tedious and unsuitable to this audience, if, as Quintus Fabius has depreciated my services in Spain, I should, on the other hand, endeavor in like manner to disparage his glory and extol my own. I shall do neither, conscript fathers; but young as I am, I will show that I

excel that sage, if in nothing else, yet certainly in modesty and temperance of language. Such has been my life and conduct, that I can, in silence, rest perfectly satisfied with that character which your own judgments have formed of me.—*From an oration reported in Livy.*

Cent Per Cent in New England—John Higginson: My fathers and brethren, this is never to be forgotten, that New England is originally a plantation of religion, not a plantation of trade. Let merchants and such as are increasing cent per cent remember this. Let others that have come over since at several times remember this, that worldly gain was not the end and design of the people of New England, but religion. And if any amongst us make religion as twelve, and the world as thirteen, let such a one know he hath neither the spirit of a true New England man, nor yet of a sincere Christian.—*From a sermon at Cambridge, 1663.*

Chatham, Lord—On Lord North: Such are your well-known characters and abilities, that sure I am that any plan of reconciliation, however moderate, wise, and feasible, must fail in your hands. Who, then, can wonder that you should put a negative on any measure which must annihilate your power, deprive you of your emoluments, and at once reduce you to that state of insignificance for which God and nature designed you?

Christian Oratory—Villemaine: The Christian orator, with his mastery over the minds of his hearers, elevating and startling them by turns, can reveal to them a destiny grander than glory,—more terrible than death. From the highest heavens he can draw down an eternal hope to the tomb, where Pericles could bring only tributary lamentations and tears. If, with the Roman orator, he commemorates the warrior fallen on the field of battle, he gives to the soul of the departed that immortality which Cicero dared promise only to his renown, and charges Deity itself with the acquittal of a country's gratitude.

Clay's Moral Force—Thomas F. Marshall: He needs no statue—he desired none. It was the image of his soul he wished to perpetuate, and he has stamped it himself in lines of flame upon the souls of his countrymen.

Not all the marbles of Carrara, fashioned by the sculptor's chisel into the mimicry of breathing life, could convey to the senses a likeness so perfect of himself as that which he has left upon the minds of men. He carved his own statue; he built his own monument.

Coercion and Union—John C. Calhoun: You cannot keep the States united in their constitutional and federal bonds by force. Has reason fled from our borders? Have we ceased to reflect? It is madness to suppose that the Union can be preserved by force.

Cohesive Power of Capital—John C. Calhoun: A power has risen up in the Government greater than the people themselves, consisting of many, and various, and powerful interests, combined into one mass, and held together by the cohesive power of the vast surplus in the banks. This mighty combination will be opposed to any change; and it is to be feared that such is its influence, no measure to which it is opposed can become a law, however expedient and necessary; and that the public money will remain in their possession to be disposed of, not as the public interest, but as theirs may dictate. The time, indeed, seems fast approaching, when no law can pass, nor any honor can be conferred, from the Chief Magistrate to the tidewaiter, without the assent of this powerful and interested combination, which is steadily becoming the Government itself, to the utter subversion of the authority of the people.

Commercialism Militant—R. B. Sheridan: There was something in the frame and constitution of the company which extended the sordid principles of their origin over all their successive operations, connecting with their civil policy, and even with their boldest achievements, the meanness of a peddler and the profligacy of pirates. Alike in the political and the military line could be observed auctioneering embassadors and trading generals; and thus we saw a revolution brought about by affidavits; an army employed in executing an arrest; a town besieged on a note of hand; a prince dethroned for the balance of an account. Thus it was that they exhibited a government which united the mock majesty of a bloody sceptre and the little traffic of a merchant's counting-house, wielding a truncheon in one hand and picking a pocket with the other.—*On the East India Company.*

Communism of Capital—Grover Cleveland: Communism is a hateful thing and a menace to peace and organized government. But the communism of combined wealth and capital, the outgrowth of overweening cupidity and selfishness which assiduously undermines the justice and integrity of free institutions, is not less dangerous than the communism of oppressed poverty and toil, which, exasperated by injustice and discontent, attacks with wild disorder the citadel of misrule.—*1888.*

Condition, not Theory—Grover Cleveland: It is a condition which confronts us—not a theory.—*Annual message, 1887.*

Conkling's "Turkey-Gobbler Strut"—James G. Blaine: As to the gentleman's cruel sarcasm, I hope he will not be too severe. The contempt of that large-minded gentleman is so wilting; his haughty disdain, his grandiloquent swell, his majestic, supereminent, overpowering, turkey-gobbler strut has been so crushing to myself and all the Members of this House, that I know it was an act of the greatest temerity for me to venture upon a controversy with him. But, sir, I know who is responsible for all this. I know that within the last five weeks, as Members of the House will recollect, an extra strut has characterized the gentleman's

bearing. It is not his fault. It is the fault of another. That gifted and satirical writer, Theodore Tilton, of the New York Independent, spent some weeks recently in this city. His letters published in that paper embraced, with many serious statements, a little jocose satire, a part of which was the statement that the mantle of the late Winter Davis had fallen upon the Member from New York. The gentleman took it seriously, and it has given his strut additional pomposity. It is striking. Hyperion to a satyr, Thersites to Hercules, mud to marble, dunghill to diamond, a singed cat to a Bengal tiger, a whining puppy to a roaring lion. Shade of the mighty Davis, forgive the almost profanation of that jocose satire.—*From the debate of April 30th, 1866, in the United States Senate.*

Constitutional Government—H. W. Hilliard: History describes upon none of its pages such a scene. Other governments had grown up under circumstances whose imperious pressure gave them their peculiar forms and they had been modified from time to time, to keep pace with an advancing civilization; but here was a government created by men emancipated from all foreign influence, and who, in their deliberations, acknowledged no supreme authority but that of God.

States already republican and independent were formed into a confederation, and the great principles of the Government were embodied in a Constitution.

Constitutional Liberty a Tradition—Hugh S. Legaré: Our written constitutions do nothing but consecrate and fortify the "plain rules of ancient liberty," handed down with Magna Charta, from the earliest history of our race. It is not a piece of paper, sir, it is not a few abstractions engrossed on parchment, that make free governments. No, sir; the law of liberty must be inscribed on the heart of the citizen: "the Word," if I may use the expression without irreverence, "must become Flesh." You must have a whole people trained, disciplined, bred,—yea, and born,—as our fathers were, to institutions like ours. Before the Colonies existed, the Petition of Rights, that Magna Charta of a more enlightened age, had been presented, in 1628, by Lord Coke and his immortal compeers. Our founders brought it with them, and we have not gone one step beyond them. They brought these maxims of civil liberty, not in their libraries, but in their souls; not as philosophical prattle, not as barren generalities, but as rules of conduct; as a symbol of public duty and private right, to be adhered to with religious fidelity; and the very first pilgrim that set his foot upon the rock of Plymouth stepped forth a living constitution, armed at all points to defend and to perpetuate the liberty to which he had devoted his whole being.

Constitutional Liberty and the American Union—Henry A. Boardman: This Union cannot expire as the snow melts from the rock, or a star disappears from the firmament. When it falls, the crash will be heard in all lands. Wherever the winds of heaven go, that will go, bearing sorrow and dismay to millions of stricken hearts; for the subversion of this Government will render the cause of constitutional liberty hopeless throughout the world. What nation can govern itself, if this nation cannot?

Cotton Is King—David Christy: Cotton is king; or, slavery in the light of political economy.

Cotton Is King—James H. Hammond: No, sir, you dare not make war on cotton. No power on earth dares make war upon it. Cotton is king. Until lately the Bank of England was king, but she tried to put her screws as usual, the fall before last, upon the cotton crop, and was utterly vanquished. The last power has been conquered.—*United States Senate, March 1858.*

Covenant with Death and Agreement with Hell—William Lloyd Garrison: *Resolved*, That the compact which exists between the North and the South is a covenant with death and an agreement with hell involving both parties in atrocious criminality, and should be immediately annulled.—*Adopted at a meeting of the Massachusetts Antislavery Society.*

"Dark Lanterns" in Politics—Henry A. Wise: Know-Nothingism is against the spirit of Reformation and of Protestantism. Let the most bigoted Protestant enumerate what he defines to have been the abominations of the church of Rome. What would he say were the worst? The secrets of Jesuitism, of the Auto-da-fé, of the Monasteries and of the Nunneries. The private penalties of the Inquisition's Scavenger's Daughter, proscription, persecution, bigotry, intolerance, shutting up of the Book of the Word. And do Protestants now mean to out-Jesuit the Jesuits? Do they mean to strike and not be seen? To be felt and not to be heard? To put a shudder upon humanity by the masks of mutes? Will they wear the monkish cowls? Will they inflict penalties at the polls without reasoning together with their fellows at the hustings? Will they proscribe? Persecute? Will they bloat up themselves into that bigotry which would burn Nonconformists?, Will they not tolerate freedom of conscience, but doom dissenters, in secret conclave, to a forfeiture of civil privileges for a religious difference? Will they not translate the scripture of their faith? Will they visit us with dark lanterns and execute us by signs, and test oaths, and in secrecy? Protestantism, forbid it!—*From an address in 1856, against the Know-Nothings.*

Demosthenes Denounced—Dinarchus: Let us no longer suffer by the corrupt and pernicious conduct of Demosthenes. Let it not be imagined that we shall ever want good men and faithful counselors. With all the generous severity of our ancestors, let us punish the man whose bribery, whose treason, are unequivocally detected; who could not resist the temptation

of gold; who in war has proved himself a coward, in his civil conduct a busybody; who, when his fellow-citizens are called forth to meet their enemies in the field, flies from his post, and hides himself at home; when the danger is at home, and his aid is demanded here, pretends that he is an embassador, and runs from the city!

Let this man no longer amuse you with airy hopes and false representations, and promises which he forgets as soon as uttered! Let not his ready tears and lamentations move you! Reserve all your pity for your country: your country, which his practices have undone—your country, which now implores you to save it from a traitor's hand. When he would waken all your sympathy for Demosthenes, then turn your eyes on Athens. Consider her former glory. Contrast it with her present degradation! And ask yourselves, whether Demosthenes has been reduced to greater wretchedness by Athens, or Athens by Demosthenes!—*From an oration delivered at Athens against Demosthenes, c. 324 B. C.*

Despotism and Extensive Territory—Alexander Hamilton: It has been advanced as a principle, that no government but a despotism can exist in a very extensive country. This is a melancholy consideration, indeed. If it were founded on truth, we ought to dismiss the idea of a republican government, even for the State of New York. But the position has been misapprehended. Its application relates only to democracies, where the body of the people meet to transact business, and where representation is unknown. The application is wrong in respect to all representative governments, but especially in relation to a confederacy of States, in which the supreme legislature has only general powers, and the civil and domestic concerns of the people are regulated by the laws of the several States. I insist that it never can be the interest or desire of the national legislature to destroy the State governments.

Disraeli—Liberalism: As I sat opposite the Treasury Bench, the ministers reminded me of those marine landscapes not very unusual on the coast of South America. You behold a range of exhausted volcanoes. Not a flame flickers on a single pallid crest. But the situation is still dangerous. There are occasional earthquakes, and ever and anon the dark rumbling of the sea.—*From a speech at Manchester.*

Eloquence and Loquacity—Pliny the Younger: Eloquence (*eloquentia*) is the talent of the few, but the faculty which Candidus calls loquacity (*loquentia*) is common to many and is generally an incident of impudence.

England's Drumbeat—Daniel Webster: Every encroachment, great or small, is important enough to awaken the attention of those who are intrusted with the preservation of a constitutional government. We are not to wait till great public mischiefs come, till the Government is overthrown, or liberty itself put in extreme jeopardy. We should not be worthy sons of our fathers were we so to regard great questions affecting the general freedom. Those fathers accomplished the Revolution on a strict question of principle. . . . They saw in the claim of the British Parliament a seminal principle of mischief, the germ of unjust power; they detected it, dragged it forth from underneath its plausible disguises, struck at it, nor did it elude either their steady eye, or their well-directed blow, till they had extirpated and destroyed it to the smallest fibre. On this question of principle, while actual suffering was yet afar off, they raised their flag against a power to which, for purposes of foreign conquest and subjugation, Rome, in the height of her glory, is not to be compared; a power which has dotted over the surface of the whole globe with her possessions and military posts; whose morning drumbeat, following the sun, and keeping company with the hours, circles the earth daily with one continuous and unbroken strain of the martial airs of England.

Entangling Alliances with None—Thomas Jefferson: Equal and exact justice to all men, of whatever state or persuasion, religious or political; peace, commerce, and honest friendship with all nations, entangling alliances with none.—*From his first Inaugural Address, March 4th, 1801.*

Exclusiveness—Orville Dewey: Why should those who are surrounded with everything that heart can wish, or imagination conceive—the very crumbs that fall from whose table of prosperity might feed hundreds—why should they sigh amidst their profusion and splendor? They have broken the bond that should connect power with usefulness, and opulence with mercy. That is the reason. They have taken up their treasures and wandered away into a forbidden world of their own, far from the sympathies of suffering humanity.

Experience—Patrick Henry: I have but one lamp by which my feet are guided; and that is the lamp of experience. I know of no way of judging of the future but by the past.

Few Die, None Resign—Thomas Jefferson: If a due participation of office is a matter of right, how are vacancies to be obtained? Those by death are few; by resignation, none. —*To a committee of New England merchants in 1801.*

"Fifty-Four Forty or Fight"—William Allen: Fifty-four forty or fight! (54° 40 ′ N.)—*From a speech on the Oregon Boundary Question, United States Senate, 1844.*

Fire Bells as Disturbers of the Peace—Edmund Burke: Where there is abuse, there ought to be clamor; because it is better to have our slumber broken by the fire bell than to perish, amidst the flames, in our bed.

Fitness for Self-Government—T. B. Macaulay: Many politicians of our time are in the habit of laying it down as a self-evident

proposition, that no people ought to be free till they are fit to use their freedom. The maxim is worthy of the fool in the old story, who resolved not to go into the water till he had learned to swim! If men are to wait for liberty till they become wise and good in slavery, they may, indeed, wait forever.

Flood, Henry — On Grattan: A mendicant patriot, subsisting upon the public accounts,—who, bought by his country for a sum of money, then sold his country for prompt payment.

Foreign War and Domestic Despotism — Jeremiah Clemens: The Senator from Michigan was right when he said that our fears were to be found at home. I do fear ourselves. Commit our people once to unnecessary foreign wars,—let victory encourage the military spirit, already too prevalent among them,—and Roman history will have no chapter bloody enough to be transmitted to posterity side by side with ours. In a brief period we shall have re-enacted, on a grander scale, the same scenes which marked her decline. The veteran soldier, who has followed a victorious leader from clime to clime, will forget his love of country in his love for his commander; and the bayonets you send abroad to conquer a kingdom will be brought back to destroy the rights of the citizen, and prop the throne of an Emperor.

Freedom Above Union — Charles Sumner: Not that I love the Union less, but freedom more, do I now, in pleading this great cause, insist that freedom, at all hazards, shall be preserved. God forbid that for the sake of the Union, we should sacrifice the very thing for which the Union was made.— *From a speech at Faneuil Hall, Boston, November 2d, 1855.*

Freedom of Conscience — Father "Tom" Burke: The conscience of man, and consequently of a nation, is supposed to be the great guide in all the relations that individuals or the people bear to God. Conscience is so free that Almighty God himself respects it. It is a theological axiom that if a man does wrong when he thinks he is doing right, the wrong will not be attributed to him by Almighty God. —*From his reply to Froude, New York, 1872.*

Freedom to Err — Thomas Jefferson: Error of opinion may be tolerated where reason is left free to combat it.

Free Speech in Parliament and Congress — James Sidney Rollins: During the War of the Revolution, when the infant colonies of this country were struggling for existence, every member upon this floor knows what terrible anathemas were hurled against the British Government by Chatham, Burke, Fox, Sheridan, and other distinguished orators in the British Parliament. Their language has never been equaled in severity by anything that has been said by any Member on this floor, and yet who ever heard of a resolution introduced for their expulsion? . . .

Sir, in a free country like ours is no latitude of debate to be allowed, is not discussion to be as broad as it is under a monarchical government, in the Parliament of Great Britain? Sir, there is no subject on which a people are more sensitive than that of free speech. It is regarded, and justly so, as one of the bulwarks of liberty, and any attempt to abridge it — and especially in these halls — must be, as it ought to be, condemned by the American people.— *From a speech in the House of Representatives, April 12th, 1864, against expelling Congressman Long, of Ohio.*

"Free Trade and Seamen's Rights" — Henry Clay: If we fail, let us fail like men, lash ourselves to our gallant tars, and expire together in one common struggle, fighting for Free Trade and Seamen's Rights.— *1813.*

Gladstone, William E. — The American Constitution: As far as I can see, the American Constitution is the most wonderful work ever struck off at one time by the brain and purpose of man.

Glittering Generalities — Rufus Choate: The glittering and sounding generalities of natural right, which make up the Declaration of Independence.— *To the Maine Whig Committee, 1856.*

Good Enough Morgan — Thurlow Weed: That is a good enough Morgan for us until you bring back the one you carried off.— *During the Anti-Masonic Excitement of 1827.* Another version is: That is a good enough Morgan until after election.

Good Government, The Sum of — Thomas Jefferson: With all these blessings, what more is necessary to make us a happy and prosperous people? Still one thing more, fellow-citizens: a wise and frugal government, which shall restrain men from injuring one another, shall leave them otherwise free to regulate their own pursuits of industry and improvement, and shall not take from the mouth of labor the bread it has earned. This is the sum of good government; and this is necessary to close the circle of our felicities.

Government a Trust — Henry Clay: Government is a trust, and the officers of the government are trustees; and both the trust and the trustees are created for the benefit of the people.— *At Ashland, Kentucky, March 1829.*

Government by the Gallows — Sir W. Meredith: Whether hanging ever did, or can, answer any good purpose, I doubt; but the cruel exhibition of every execution day is a proof that hanging carries no terror with it. The multiplicity of our hanging laws has produced these two things: frequency of condemnation, and frequent pardons. If we look to the executions themselves, what examples do they give? The thief dies either hardened or penitent. All that admiration and contempt of death with which heroes and martyrs inspire good men in a good cause, the abandoned villain feels, in seeing a desperado like himself meet death with intrepidity. The penitent thief, on the other hand, often makes the sober villain think that by

robbery, forgery, or murder, he can relieve all his wants; and, if he be brought to justice, the punishment will be short and trifling, and the reward eternal.

Government of, by, and for the People — Theodore Parker: The American idea, . . . a democracy, that is, a government of all the people, by all the people, for all the people.—*Boston, 1850.*

Governmental Power and Popular Incapacity — John C. Calhoun: The quantum of power on the part of the Government, and of liberty on that of individuals, instead of being equal in all cases, must, necessarily, be very unequal among different people, according to their different conditions. For, just in proportion as a people are ignorant, stupid, debased, corrupt, exposed to violence within and danger without, the power necessary for government to possess, in order to preserve society against anarchy and destruction, becomes greater and greater, and individual liberty less and less, until the lowest condition is reached, when absolute and despotic power becomes necessary on the part of the Government, and individual liberty extinct.

Grant, Ulysses S.—Freedom and Education: The free school is the promoter of that intelligence which is to preserve us as a free nation. If we are to have another contest in the near future of our national existence, I predict that the dividing line will not be Mason and Dixon's, but between patriotism and intelligence on the one side, and superstition and ambition and ignorance on the other. Now in this Centennial year of our existence I believe it a good time to begin the work of strengthening the foundation of the house commenced by our patriotic forefathers one hundred years ago, at Concord and Lexington. Let us all labor to add all needful guarantees for the more perfect security of free thought, free speech, free press, pure morals, unfettered religious sentiments, and of equal rights and privileges to all men, irrespective of nationality, color, or religion. Encourage free schools, and resolve that not one dollar of money appropriated to their support, no matter how raised, shall be appropriated to the support of any sectarian school. Resolve that the State or Nation, or both combined, shall furnish to every child growing up in the land the means of acquiring a good common-school education, unmixed with sectarian, pagan, or atheistic tenets. Leave the matter of religion to the family altar, the church, and the private school supported entirely by private contributions. Keep the Church and State forever separate. With these safeguards I believe the battles which created the Army of the Tennessee will not have been fought in vain.—*From an address to the Army of the Tennessee, at its reunion, September 29th, 1875, at Des Moines, Iowa.*

Graves, John Temple — On Henry W. Grady: No fire that can be kindled upon the altar of speech can relume the radiant spark that perished yesterday. No blaze born in all our eulogy can burn beside the sunlight of his useful life. After all, there is nothing grander than such living.

I have seen the light that gleamed from the headlight of some giant engine rushing onward through the darkness, heedless of opposition, fearless of danger, and I thought it was grand. I have seen the light come over the eastern hills in glory, driving the hazy darkness like mist before a sea-born gale, till leaf, and tree, and blade of grass glittered in the myriad diamonds of the morning ray, and I thought it was grand. I have seen the light that leaped at midnight athwart the storm-swept sky, shivering over chaotic clouds, mid howling winds, till cloud and darkness and the shadow-haunted earth flashed into midday splendor, and I knew it was grand. But the grandest thing next to the radiance that flows from the Almighty throne is the light of a noble and beautiful life wrapping itself in benediction round the destinies of men and finding its home in the blessed bosom of the everlasting God.

Greeley, Horace — After-Dinner Speech on Franklin: Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, if I were required to say for which of Franklin's achievements he deserved most and best of mankind, I should award the palm to his autobiography — so frank, so sunny, so irradiated by a brave, blithe, hearty humanity. For if our fathers had not — largely by the aid of his counsel, his labors, his sacrifices — achieved their independence at the first effort, they would have tried it again and again until they did achieve it; if he had not made his immortal discovery of the identity of electricity with the lightning, that truth would nevertheless have at length been demonstrated; but if he had not so modestly and sweetly told us how to wrestle with poverty and compel opportunity, I do not know who beside would or could have done it so well. There is not to-day, there will not be in this nor in the next century, a friendless, humble orphan, working hard for naked daily bread, and glad to improve his leisure hours in the corner of a garret, whom that biography will not cheer and strengthen to fight the battle of life buoyantly and manfully. I wish some human tract society would present a copy of it to every poor lad in the United States.

But I must not detain you. Let me sum up the character of Franklin in the fewest words that will serve me. I love and revere him as a journeyman printer, who was frugal and didn't drink; a *parvenu* who rose from want to competence, from obscurity to fame, without losing his head; a statesman who did not crucify mankind with long-winded documents or speeches; a diplomatist who did not intrigue; a philosopher who never loved, and an office-holder who didn't steal. So regarding him, I respond to your sentiment with "Honor to the memory of Franklin."—*Complete text of Mr. Greeley's speech at the Franklin Banquet of 1870, in New York city.*

Hall, Robert—Duty and Moral Health: Of an accountable creature duty is the concern of every moment, since he is every moment pleasing or displeasing to God. It is a universal element, mingling with every action, and qualifying every disposition and pursuit. The moral quality of conduct, as it serves both to ascertain and to form the character, has consequences in a future world so certain and infallible, that it is represented in Scripture as a seed no part of which is lost, "for whatsoever a man soweth that also shall he reap." That rectitude which the inspired writers usually denominate holiness is the health and beauty of the soul, capable of bestowing dignity in the absence of every other accomplishment, while the want of it leaves the possessor of the richest intellectual endowments a painted sepulchre.—*From a sermon preached at Leicester, England, in 1810.*

Hampdens's Twenty Shillings—Edmund Burke: Would twenty shillings have ruined Mr. Hampden's fortune? No! but the payment of half twenty shillings, on the principle it was demanded, would have made him a slave! It is the weight of that preamble, of which you are so fond, and not the weight of the duty, that the Americans are unable and unwilling to bear.

Hannibal to His Army—Livy: Soldiers, there is nothing left to us, in any quarter, but what we can vindicate with our swords. Let those be cowards who have something to look back upon; whom, flying through safe and unmolested roads, their own country will receive. There is a necessity for us to be brave. There is no alternative but victory or death; and, if it must be death, who would not rather encounter it in battle than in flight? The immortal gods could give no stronger incentive to victory. Let but these truths be fixed in your minds, and once again I proclaim, you are conquerors!

Harsh as Truth—William Lloyd Garrison: I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice.—*1831.*

Henderson, John B.—The Right to Make Foolish Speeches: The Constitution provides that Congress "shall make no law abridging the freedom of speech or of the press." The President, like other persons, is protected under this clause. He, too, has the right to make foolish speeches. I do not now say that there is no limit to the enjoyment of this right, or that it might not be so much abused by a President as to demand his impeachment and removal from office. But in this case the offense is certainly not of so heinous a character as to demand punishment in the absence of a law defining the right and providing specific penalties, and also in the face of a constitutional provision declaring that the freedom of speech cannot be abridged by law.—*From an Opinion Delivered at the Impeachment of President Johnson in 1868.*

Higher Law—W. H. Seward: We deem the principle of the law for the recapture of fugitive slaves unjust, unconstitutional, and immoral; and thus, while patriotism withholds its approbation, the conscience of our people condemns it. You will say that these convictions of ours are disloyal. Grant it, for the sake of argument. They are nevertheless honest; and the law is to be executed among us, not among you; not by us, but by the Federal authority. Has any government ever succeeded in changing the moral convictions of its subjects by force? But these convictions imply no disloyalty. We reverence the Constitution, although we perceive this defect, just as we acknowledge the splendor and the power of the sun, although its surface is tarnished with here and there an opaque spot. . . . The Constitution regulates our stewardship; the Constitution devotes the domain to union, to justice, to defense, to welfare, and to liberty. But there is a higher law than the Constitution, which regulates our authority over the domain and devotes it to the same noble purposes.—*From a speech in the United States Senate, March 15th, 1850.*

Higher Law—Wendell Phillips: We confess that we intend to trample under foot the Constitution of this country. Daniel Webster says: "You are a law-abiding people"; that the glory of New England is "that it is a law-abiding community." Shame on it, if this be true; if even the religion of New England sinks as low as its statute book. But I say we are not a law-abiding community. God be thanked for it!—*From a speech at a Free-Soil Meeting in Boston, in May 1850.*

"Higher Law" Defined in Court—John Brown: In the first place, I deny everything but what I have all along admitted—the design on my part to free the slaves. I intended, certainly, to have made a clean thing of the matter, as I did last winter when I went into Missouri and there took slaves without the snapping of a gun on either side, moved them through the country, and finally left them in Canada. I designed to have done the same thing again, on a larger scale. That was all I intended. I never did intend murder, or treason, or the destruction of property, or to excite slaves to rebellion, or to make insurrection.

I have another objection; and that is, it is unjust that I should suffer such a penalty. Had I interfered in the manner which I admit, and which I admit has been fairly proved (for I admire the truthfulness and candor of the greater portion of the witnesses who have testified in this case)—had I so interfered in behalf of the rich, the powerful, the intelligent, the so-called great, or in behalf of any of their friends, either father, mother, brother, sister, wife, or children, or any of that class, and suffered and sacrificed what I have in this interference, it would have been all right, and every man in this court would have deemed it an act worthy of reward rather than punishment.

This court acknowledges, as I suppose, the validity of the law of God. I see a book kissed here which I suppose to be the Bible, or at least the New Testament. That teaches me that all things whatsoever I would that men should do to me, I should do even so to them. It teaches me, further, to «remember them that are in bonds as bound with them.» I endeavored to act up to that instruction. I say, I am yet too young to understand that God is any respecter of persons. I believe that to have interfered as I have done—as I have always freely admitted I have done—in behalf of his despised poor, was not wrong, but right. Now, if it is deemed necessary that I should forfeit my life for the furtherance of the ends of justice, and mingle my blood further with the blood of my children, and with the blood of millions in this slave country whose rights are disregarded by wicked, cruel, and unjust enactments—I submit: so let it be done!—*From his speech to the court which sentenced him in 1859, as reported in the Liberator by William Lloyd Garrison.*

Higher Law in England—Lord Brougham: Tell me not of rights,—talk not of the property of the planter in his slaves. I deny the right,—I acknowledge not the property. The principles, the feelings of our common nature, rise in rebellion against it. Be the appeal made to the understanding or to the heart, the sentence is the same that rejects it. In vain you tell me of laws that sanction such a claim! There is a law above all enactments of human codes,—the same throughout the world, the same in all times,—such as it was before the daring genius of Columbus pierced the night of ages, and opened to one world the sources of power, wealth, and knowledge; to another all unutterable woes; such as it is at this day. It is the law written in the heart of man by the finger of his Maker; and by that law, unchangeable and eternal, while men despise fraud, and loathe rapine, and abhor blood, they will reject the wild and guilty phantasy that man can hold property in man! In vain you appeal to treaties, to covenants between nations; the covenants of the Almighty, whether of the old covenant or the new, denounce such unholy pretensions.—*In the House of Commons, 1830.*

Hissing Prejudices—Samuel Taylor Coleridge: I am not at all surprised that when the red-hot prejudices of aristocrats are suddenly plunged into the cool element of reason they should go off with a hiss.—*From a speech at Bristol.*

Hope and Truth—Patrick Henry: It is natural to man to indulge in the illusions of hope. We are apt to shut our eyes against a painful truth, and listen to the song of that siren, till she transforms us into beasts.

If I Were an American—Lord Chatham: You cannot, I venture to say it, you cannot conquer America. What is your present situation there? We do not know the worst; but we know that in three campaigns we have done nothing, and suffered much. You may swell every expense, and strain every effort still more extravagantly; accumulate every assistance you can beg or borrow; traffic and barter with every little pitiful German prince that sells and sends his subjects to the shambles of a foreign country; your efforts are forever vain and impotent,—doubly so from this mercenary aid on which you rely; for it irritates to an incurable resentment the minds of your enemies, to overrun them with the sordid sons of rapine and of plunder, devoting them and their possessions to the rapacity of hireling cruelty! If I were an American, as I am an Englishman, while a foreign troop was landed in my country, I never would lay down my arms!—never! never! never!

Imperialism Old and New—George Graham Vest: Sir, we are told that this country can do anything, Constitution or no Constitution. We are a great people,—great in war, great in peace,—but we are not greater than the people who once conquered the world, not with long-range guns and steel-clad ships, but with the short sword of the Roman legion and the wooden galleys that sailed across the Adriatic. The colonial system destroyed all hope of republicanism in the olden time. It is an appanage of monarchy. It can exist in no free country, because it uproots and eliminates the basis of all republican institutions, that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed.

I know not what may be done with the glamor of foreign conquest and the greed of the commercial and money-making classes in this country. For myself, I would rather quit public life and would be willing to risk life itself rather than give my consent to this fantastic and wicked attempt to revolutionize our Government and substitute the principles of our hereditary enemies for the teachings of Washington and his associates.—*From a speech in the United States Senate, December 12th, 1898.*

Indestructible Union of Indestructible States—Salmon P. Chase: The Constitution, in all its provisions, looks to an indestructible Union composed of indestructible States.—*From the Decision in Texas versus White, 7 Wallace 725.*

Innocuous Desuetude—Grover Cleveland: After an existence of nearly twenty years of almost innocuous desuetude, these laws are brought forth.—*Message, March 1886.*

Innovation—William Huskisson: I have been charged with being the author in some instances, and the promoter in others, of innovations of a rash and dangerous nature. I deny the charge. I dare the authors of it to the proof. Gentlemen, when they talk of innovation, ought to remember, with Lord Bacon, that «Time has been and is the great Innovator.» Upon that innovator I have felt it my duty

cautiously to wait, at a becoming distance and with proper circumspection; but not arrogantly and presumptuously to go before him, and endeavor to outstrip his course.

Intimidation of Judges—Stephen J. Field: When judges shall be obliged to go armed, it will be time for the courts to be closed.

Irish Heroism—Robert L. Taylor: If I were a sculptor, I would chisel from the marble my ideal of a hero. I would make it the figure of an Irishman sacrificing his hopes and his life on the altar of his country, and I would carve on its pedestal the name of Robert Emmet.

If I were a painter, I would make the canvas eloquent with the deeds of the bravest people who ever lived, whose proud spirit no power can ever conquer and whose loyalty and devotion to the hopes of free government no tyrant can ever crush. And I would write under the picture «Ireland.»

If I were a poet, I would melt the world to tears with the pathos of my song. I would touch the heart of humanity with the mournful threnody of Ireland's wrongs and Erin's woes. I would weave the shamrock and the rose into garlands of glory for the Emerald Isle, the land of martyrs and memories, the cradle of heroes, the nursery of liberty.

Tortured in dungeons and murdered on scaffolds, robbed of the fruits of their sweat and toil, scourged by famine and plundered by the avarice of heartless power, driven like the leaves of autumn before the keen winter winds, this sturdy race of Erin's sons and daughters have been scattered over the face of the earth, homeless only in the land of their nativity, but princes and lords in every other land where merit is the measure of the man.

Isæus—The Athenian Method of Examining Witnesses: Now, you are all, I believe, persuaded that an inquisition by torture, both in public and private causes, is the best and surest mode of investigating the truth; nor, when both freemen and slaves are present and it is expedient to obtain a discovery of facts, is it your custom to examine the freemen, but to rack the slaves, and thus to extort a true relation of all that has happened; in this respect you think and act wisely, judges; for you well know that many persons examined in the usual form have given evidence indubitably false; but of all those who have been exposed to torture, none have ever been convicted of falsehood; and will this most audacious of men request you to believe his artful pretenses, and his witnesses, who swear against truth, when he declines a mode of proof so exact and conclusive? Our conduct is widely different; and, as we first proposed to discover the whole transaction by the means of torture, to which proposal we have proved that they would not consent, we think it reasonable that our witnesses should be credited.—*From the speech on the estate of Ciron, delivered at Athens, c. 375 B.C.*

Judges and the Law—Edmund Burke: Judges are guided and governed by the eternal laws of justice, to which we are all subject. We may bite our chains, if we will; but we shall be made to know ourselves, and be taught that man is born to be governed by law; and he that will substitute will in the place of it is an enemy to God.

Law Reform—Lord Brougham: You saw the greatest warrior of the age,—conqueror of Italy—humbler of Germany—terror of the North,—saw him account all his matchless victories poor compared with the triumph you are now in a condition to win,—saw him contemn the fickleness of fortune, while, in despite of her, he could pronounce his memorable boast: «I shall go down to posterity with the Code in my hand!» You have vanquished him in the field; strive now to rival him in the sacred arts of peace! Outstrip him as a lawgiver whom in arms you overcame! The lustre of the regency will be eclipsed by the more solid and enduring splendor of the reign. It was the boast of Augustus,—it formed part of the glare in which the perfidies of his earlier years were lost,—that he found Rome of brick and left it of marble. But how much nobler will be the sovereign's boast when he shall have it to say, that he found law dear and left it cheap; found it a sealed book, left it a living letter; found it the patrimony of the rich, left it the inheritance of the poor; found it the two-edged sword of craft and oppression, left it the staff of honesty and the shield of innocence!—*Peroration of the speech on Law Reform.*

Leosthenes and the Patriot Dead—Hyperides: With us, and with all the living, as we have seen, they shall ever have renown; but in the dark underworld—suffer us to ask—who are they that will stretch forth a right hand to the captain of our dead? May we not deem that Leosthenes will be greeted with welcome and with wonder by those half-gods who bore arms against Troy,—he who set himself to deeds germane with theirs, but in this surpassed them, that while they, aided by all Hellas, took one town, he, supported by his own city alone, humbled the power that ruled Europe and Asia? They avenged the wrong offered to one woman; he stayed the insults that were being heaped on all the cities of Hellas—he and those who are sharing his last honors—men who, coming after the heroes, wrought deeds of heroic worth. Aye, and there, I deem, will be Miltiades and Themistocles, and those others who made Hellas free, to the credit of their city, to the glory of their names—whom this man surpassed in courage and in counsel, seeing that they repelled the power of the barbarians when it had come against them, but he forbade its approach; they saw the foemen fighting in their own country, but he worsted his enemies on their own soil. And surely they who gave the people trusty proof of their mutual love, Harmodios

and Aristogeiton, will count no friends so near to themselves, or so faithful to you, as Leosthenes and those who strove beside him, nor will they so consort with any dwellers in the place of the dead. Well may it be so, since these have done deeds not less than theirs, but, if it may be said, even greater; for they put down the despots of their own city, but these put down the despots of Hellas. O beautiful and wonderful enterprise, O glorious and magnificent devotion, O soldiership transcendent in dangers, which these offered to the freedom of Greece!

Let Us Alone—Jefferson Davis: All we ask is to be let alone.—*Message to the Confederate Congress, March 1861.*

Liberty and Eloquence—William Preston: Liberty and eloquence are united, in all ages. Where the sovereign power is found in the public mind and the public heart, eloquence is the obvious approach to it. Power and honor, and all that can attract ardent and aspiring natures, attend it. The noblest instinct is to propagate the spirit, «to make our mind the mind of other men.»

Liberty and Society—John C. Calhoun: Government has no right to control individual liberty, beyond what is necessary to the safety and well-being of society.

Liberty and Union—Daniel Webster: When my eyes shall be turned to behold, for the last time, the sun in heaven, may I not see him shining on the broken and dishonored fragments of a once glorious Union; on States dissevered, discordant, belligerent; on a land rent with civil feuds, or drenched, it may be, in fraternal blood! Let their last feeble and lingering glance rather behold the gorgeous ensign of the Republic now known and honored throughout the earth, still full high advanced, its arms and trophies streaming in their original lustre, not a stripe erased or polluted, nor a single star obscured, bearing for its motto no such miserable interrogatory as, «What is all this worth?» nor those other words of delusion and folly, «Liberty first, and union afterwards,» but everywhere, spread all over in characters of living light, blazing on all its ample folds, as they float over the sea and over the land, and in every wind under the whole heavens, that other sentiment, dear to every true American heart,—Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable!—*Closing Sentences of the Reply to Hayne.*

Liberty of the Press—John Philpot Curran: As the advocate of society, therefore, of peace, of domestic liberty, and the lasting union of the two countries, I conjure you to guard the liberty of the Press, that great sentinel of the State, that grand detector of public imposture! Guard it, because, when it sinks, there sinks with it, in one common grave, the liberty of the subject, and the security of the Crown!

Liberty or Death—Patrick Henry: Is life so dear, or peace so sweet, as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery? Forbid it, Almighty God! I know not what course others may take; but as for me, give me liberty, or give me death!

Limitation—E. P. Humphrey: The course of nature itself seems to confirm the proposition as to the relation between sin and suffering. The most thorough inquiry into the structure of the physical universe conducts to the conclusion that it was created by a being infinitely good and intended for a race infinitely sinful. It is a magnificent palace-prison; as a palace declaring the glory of its maker, as a prison revealing the character of its inmates.

Louder, Sir, Louder—Thomas F. Marshall: Mr. President, on the last day, when the angel Gabriel shall have descended from the heavens, and, placing one foot upon the sea and the other upon the land, shall lift to his lips the golden trumpet and proclaim to the living and the resurrected dead that time shall be no more, I have no doubt, sir, that some infernal fool from Buffalo will start up and cry out, «Louder, please, sir, louder!»—*From a speech at Buffalo, denouncing a malicious interruption.*

Loving Him for His Enemies—Edward S. Bragg: They love him, gentlemen, and they respect him, not only for himself, for his character, for his integrity and judgment and iron will, but they love him most for the enemies he has made.—*From a speech made as chairman of the Democratic National Convention of 1884,—referring to Grover Cleveland and his opponents in Tammany Hall.*

Lycurgus—Peroration of the Speech Against Leocrates: Be sure, judges, that each of you, by the vote which he now gives in secret, will lay his thought bare to the gods. And I deem that this day, judges, you are passing a collective sentence on all the greatest and most dreadful forms of crime in all of which Leocrates is manifestly guilty; on treason, since he abandoned the city to its troubles and brought it under the hand of the enemy; on subversion of the democracy, since he did not stand the ordeal of the struggle for freedom; on impiety, since he has done what one man could to obliterate the sacred precincts and to demolish the temples; on ill-treatment of parents,—for he sought to destroy the monuments and to abolish the liturgy of the dead; on a soldier's desertion of his post and avoidance of his duty—for he did not place his personal service at the disposal of the generals. Who, then, will acquit this man,—who will condone misdeeds which were deliberate? Who is so foolish as, by saving this man, to place his own safety at the mercy of cowardly deserters,—who will show compassion to this man, and so elect to die unpitied at the hands of the enemy? Who will conciliate the gratitude of his country's betrayer in order to make

himself obnoxious to the vengeance of the gods?

In the cause of my country, of the temples, and of the laws, I have fairly and justly set forth the issue, without disparaging or vilifying the defendant's private life or bringing any irrelevant accusation. You must reflect, every one of you, that to acquit Leocrates is to pass sentence of death and enslavement on your country. Two urns are before you, and the votes which you give are, in the one case, for the overthrow of your city; in the other, for its safety and its domestic welfare. If you absolve Leocrates, you will vote for betraying the city, the temples, and the ships—if you put him to death, you will exhort men to cherish and preserve their country, her revenues, and her prosperity. Deem, then, Athenians, that a prayer goes up to you from the very land and all its groves, from the harbors, from the arsenals, from the walls of the city; deem that the shrines and holy places are summoning you to protect them, and, remembering the charges against him, make Leocrates a proof that compassion and tears do not prevail with you over solicitude for the laws and for the commonweal.—*Delivered at Athens.*

Manhood—H. W. Hilliard: A really great man is the grandest object which this world ever exhibits. The heavens in their magnificence—the ocean in its sublime immensity—mountains standing firm upon their granite foundations—all are less imposing than a living man in the possession of his highest faculties.—*From a speech on Webster in 1854.*

Marie Antoinette as the Morning Star—Edmund Burke: It is now sixteen or seventeen years since I saw the Queen of France, then the Dauphiness, at Versailles; and surely never lighted on this orb, which she hardly seemed to touch, a more delightful vision. I saw her just above the horizon, decorating and cheering the elevated sphere she just began to move in,—glittering like the morning star, full of life and splendor and joy.

Marvin, Bishop E. M.—Christ and the Church: How sweet and fragrant is the atmosphere of that home which is kept in the odor of purity by a chaste wife! No matter how protracted the absence of her husband, her instinctive purity preserves inviolate the sanctities of the place; the modest dignity of her spirit removes her utterly from temptation; no lustful dalliance dares attempt her hand; evil avoids the threshold; even in his absence, her husband's name is another word for honor; no presence is allowed, no word is spoken, that would shame him if he were there. . . .

I have seen a young man, the noble son of a noble sire, when he brought his bride home to his father's house; he had chosen her from among all the women in the world; he loved her with all the fullness of an uncorrupted heart; it was the mighty outgoing of a fresh, strong nature. She was fit to be the wife of such a man; she was as complete in her womanliness as he in his manliness; and now, at this supreme moment of her destiny, her whole nature, soul and body, had been fused into sensibility; her face was lit with the chaste warmth of bridal consciousness; her light, airy, elegant form was embodied gracefulness and poetry in every attitude, in every slightest movement; when she leaned upon her husband's arm, and looked up into his face, she was the picture of rapture in repose. The son had the full approbation of his father; of all the women he knew, he would have chosen this one to be the wife of his firstborn.

What a day was that when her husband brought her home to his father's house! what preparations had been made to receive her! The house had been renovated, from top to bottom; the premises had been in an uproar for a week, making ready for the event; if it had been a queen that was coming, interest could not have been more intense; everything on the place had turned to heart; every nerve tingled a delicious welcome to the newcomer.

The day arrives, at last, and the hour; the bridegroom has come, with his bride; the welcome would be clamorous, if it were not so deep; the feeling of the younger children and of the servants has a touch of awe in it.

The father receives her with quiet dignity, but the respectful kiss is the seal of purest affection, and the deep bass of his voice, slightly tremulous, gives her a daughter's quiet consciousness in his presence at once; she looks into his face, and sees the glow of his countenance; from that hour her heart is at peace under his roof. The younger children come hesitatingly about her chair, and timidly finger the fringes of her garments; if she looks at one with a smile, he can scarcely contain himself for an hour; a kiss upon the forehead is enough to put him into ecstasies for a week. With what sensitive eagerness they speak to her, in tremulous undertone, calling her sister! The word never had such a meaning before, nor the syllables of it so sweet a sound; it is another word for tenderness and beauty. The very servants move about with unwonted activity and interest—for there were black domestics in the house, born and bred on the place; they have caught the infection of love and interest and joy; everything the young mistress touches seems almost sacred to them; they sweep the carpet with greater care, because she is to tread upon it; the very stairway seems different after she has tripped up and down it once; everything seems different; a new expression is in everything; the light is purer, and as the sunshine from the window lies upon the carpet, you might imagine it to be the bright shadow of God's peace that came into the house with the bride.

After nightfall she walks to and fro over the greensward, under the shade trees and in the light of the full moon, leaning on the arm of her husband, and talking with him in low tones; the very moon looks purer, as it floats

above her head, and the grass more brightly green after her robe has swept over it. There was never a joy so great or so diffusive in that house.

The day comes when the heavenly Bridegroom will bring his Bride home to the Father's house; he is there now, making ready—preparing a place for her before he comes again to bring her away. That will be the day of days, even in heaven; it has been looked to from the dawn of creation; angel-ministers have been engaged in preparation; God the Father looks upon the Bride with approval; the last earth-stain has been washed from her garments by the blood of the Lamb; a vast concourse of the sons of immortality is coming to join the procession; the frame of nature throughout the universe is to be taken down and built anew, in more perfect forms of beauty and grandeur, in honor of the event; "the Lord himself shall descend from heaven with a shout, with the voice of the archangel, and with the trump of God." Then shall he return with the risen and glorified Church; the gates of the celestial city are in sight; they are thrown open; the family of heaven are grouped and waiting; a new feeling of tenderness and interest deepens the sensibilities even of that world; the Church, redeemed with blood, is coming home with her Redeemer, radiant with his glory; nearest his person, and most fully in his likeness of all created things, she is the centre of interest and in the place of honor; she was created from his side, and the glory of his nature is upon her brow; she enters, leaning on her Beloved; angels, quivering with delight, and eager to do her service, hover about her way; they will bear messages to and fro, swift as lightning; they will sweep the invisible dust of the golden pavement with their wings, before her white-shod feet shall pass; the celestial glory is heightened by the glow of her countenance, as she looks into the face of her Lord; her passing form is mirrored in the sea of glass; the princes and potentates of glory await her coming with their homage; she passes into the palace of the Great King, still leaning on her Lord; the Father smiles; she is at home; the Son takes the throne with the Father; the Bride is with him, throned at his side; all the harps and voices of heaven break forth with a new song, and the music deepens, swells, and vibrates, till the very thrones tremble to the melody; the crown is brought forth—the crown of life; the triumphant hand of her Lord places it on her head; it is gemmed with diamonds, cut at ten thousand angles, every flaming facet flashing back and augmenting the celestial radiance; at the right hand of her King she sits, regnant in beauty, with the port of an empress and the heart of a bride, to reign with him forever; in the Father's house, like a child at home, she shall go in and out, diffusing beauty and love and blessedness.

The purposes of God are consummated; created being has reached its highest expression through the agony of the God-man; the Creator sees himself mirrored in the creature, and the glorified Church is the crown and joy of heaven. Even the angels come to a higher destiny in the household of the Bride; they find a deeper joy in her transcendent destiny, and through her find places nearer to the Lord.

Shall we be there, blood-washed, to sin no more? we, so weak, so polluted, now?

Yes, even we may have hope! But only the power of God can keep us against that day.—*By permission from sermons of E. M. Marvin. Copyright by the M. E. Church, South Nashville, Tennessee.*

Militarism and Progress—**John Sergeant**: I would ask: What did Cromwell, with all his military genius, do for England? He overthrew the monarchy, and he established dictatorial power in his own person. And what happened next? Another soldier overthrew the dictatorship, and restored the monarchy. The sword effected both. Cromwell made one revolution, and Monk another. And what did the people of England gain by it? Nothing. Absolutely nothing!

Monroe Doctrine—**James Monroe**: In the wars of the European powers in matters relating to themselves, we have never taken any part, nor does it comport with our policy so to do. It is only when our rights are invaded, or seriously menaced, that we resent injuries, or make preparations for our defense. With the movements in this hemisphere, we are, of necessity, more immediately connected, and by causes which must be obvious to all enlightened and impartial observers. The political system of the Allied Powers is essentially different in this respect from that of America. This difference proceeds from that which exists in their respective governments; and to the defense of our own, which has been achieved by the loss of so much blood and treasure, and matured by the wisdom of their most enlightened citizens, and under which we have enjoyed unexampled felicity, this whole nation is devoted.

We owe it, therefore, to candor, and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those European Powers, to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety.

With the existing Colonies or dependencies of any European Power, we have not interfered, and shall not interfere. But with the governments who have declared their independence and maintained it, and whose independence we have, on great consideration and on just principles, acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling in any other manner their destiny by any European power, in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States.—*From the message of December 1823.*

Moral Influences—Albert Pike: There are single passages in the writings of Daniel Webster that will exercise more influence upon the youth of America than all the statutes of this Union. There are songs written by men whose names are now forgotten that are more to the American people than a regiment of bayonets. "Let him who will make the laws of a nation, if I may but make its songs," was well and truly said. The apparently trifling song of Lillibullero was the chief cause of the downfall of James II. How much influence do you imagine the songs of our own country are exerting? Do you imagine that we should make a profitable bargain in case of a new war, by exchanging the song of Yankee Doodle for fifty thousand foreign soldiers led by a field marshal? This is a kind of property you can not trade away with profit. You cannot profitably part with your lofty thoughts and noble sentiments any more than we can profitably part with our own souls.—*From a speech delivered in 1855.*

Mudsills—James H. Hammond: In all social systems there must be a class to do the mean duties, to perform the drudgery of life; that is, a class requiring but a low order of intellect and but little skill. Its requisites are vigor, docility, fidelity. Such a class you must have, or you would not have that other class which leads progress, refinement, and civilization. It constitutes the very mudsills of society and of political government; and you might as well attempt to build a house in the air as to build either the one or the other except on the mudsills. Fortunately for the South, she found a race adapted to that purpose to her hand—a race inferior to herself, but eminently qualified in temper, in vigor, in docility, in capacity to stand the climate, to answer all her purposes. We use them for the purpose and call them slaves. We are old-fashioned at the South yet; it is a word discarded now by ears polite; but I will not characterise that class at the North with that term; but you have it; it is there; it is everywhere; it is eternal.—*From a speech in the United States Senate, 1858.*

Mugwumps—Horace Porter: A Mugwump is a person educated beyond his intellect.—*Said in 1884.*

Napoleon After the Battle of Leipsic—George Canning: How was their prospect changed! In those countries where, at most, a short struggle had been terminated by a result disastrous to their wishes, if not altogether closing in despair, they had now to contemplate a very different aspect of affairs. Germany crouched no longer trembling at the feet of the tyrant, but maintained a balanced contest. The mighty deluge by which the continent had been overwhelmed is subsiding. The limits of the nation are again visible, and the spires and turrets of ancient establishments are beginning to reappear above the subsiding waves.

National Debt a National Blessing—Alexander Hamilton: A national debt, if it is not excessive, will be to us a national blessing.—*From a Letter to Robert Morris, April 30th, 1781.*

Nobility of Ascent—Henry Codman Potter: If there be no nobility of descent, all the more indispensable is it that there should be nobility of ascent—a character in them that bear rule, so fine and high and pure, that as men come within the circle of its influence, they involuntarily pay homage to that which is the one pre-eminent distinction, the Royalty of Virtue.

No South, No North, No East, No West—Henry Clay: I have heard something said about allegiance to the South. I know no South, no North, no East, no West, to which I owe any allegiance.—*In the United States Senate, 1848.*

Old-Line Whigs—Edward Bates: An Old-Line Whig is one who takes his whisky regularly, and votes the Democratic ticket occasionally.

Palmer, Benjamin M.—Lee and Washington: What is that combination of influences, partly physical, partly intellectual, but somewhat more moral, which should make a particular country productive of men great over all others on earth, and to all ages of time? Ancient Greece, with her indented coast, inviting to maritime adventures, from her earliest period was the mother of heroes in war, of poets in song, of sculptors and artists, and stands up after the lapse of centuries the educator of mankind, living in the grandeur of her works and in the immortal productions of minds which modern civilization, with all its cultivation and refinement and science, never surpassed and scarcely equaled. And why, in the three hundred years of American history, it should be given to the Old Dominion to be the grandmother, not only of States, but of the men by whom States and empires are formed, it might be curious, were it possible for us to inquire. Unquestionably, Mr. President, there is in this problem the element of race; for he is blind to all the truths of history, to all the revelations of the past, who does not recognize a select race as we recognize a select individual of a race, to make all history. But pretermitting all speculation of that sort, when Virginia unfolds the scroll of her immortal sons—not because illustrious men did not precede him gathering in constellations and clusters, but because the name shines out through those constellations and clusters in all its peerless grandeur—we read first the name of George Washington. And then, Mr. President, after the interval of three-quarters of a century, when your jealous eye has ranged down the record and traced the names that history will never let die, you come to the name—the only name in all the annals of history that can be named in the perilous connection—of Robert E. Lee, the second Washington. Well may old Vir-

ginia be proud of her twin sons, born almost a century apart, but shining like those binary stars which open their glory and shed their splendor on the darkness of the world.—*From an address delivered at a meeting of the citizens of New Orleans, October 15th, 1870, the Funeral Day of General Robert E. Lee.*

Passing of the Indians—Joseph Story: There is something in their hearts which passes speech. There is something in their looks, not of vengeance or submission, but of hard necessity, which stifles both; which chokes all utterance. It is courage, absorbed in despair. They linger but for a moment. Their look is onward. They have passed the fatal stream. It shall never be repassed by them,—no, never. They know and feel that there is for them still one remove further, not distant, nor unseen. It is to the general burial ground of their race.

Patriotism—Henry Clay: The high, the exalted, the sublime emotions of a patriotism which, soaring towards heaven, rises far above all mean, low, or selfish things, and is absorbed by one soul-transporting thought of the good and the glory of one's country, are never felt in his impenetrable bosom. That patriotism which, catching its inspirations from the immortal God, and, leaving at an immeasurable distance below all lesser, groveling, personal interests and feelings animates and prompts to deeds of self-sacrifice, of valor, of devotion, and of death itself,—that is public virtue; that is the noblest, the sublimest of all public virtues!

Peaceably, if Possible; Violently, if Necessary—Josiah Quincy: I am compelled to declare it as my deliberate opinion that if this bill passes, the bonds of this Union are virtually dissolved; that the States which compose it are free from their moral obligations, and that as it will be the right of all, so it will be the duty of some to prepare, definitely, for a separation; amicably, if they can; violently, if they must.—*From a speech on the admission of Louisiana in 1811.*

Pectus et Vis Mentis—Quintilian: Heart and strength of intellect make men eloquent. Even the most ignorant man when he is strongly moved can find words to express himself.

Pierrepont, Edwards—Equality in America: Equality is the central idea with our people, and I dare say that in this large audience there are many benevolent persons who would make all equally rich; but it would come to about the same to make all equally poor. The rich man would not do the menial work of another rich man, and the rich woman would not wash and cook for the rich man's wife; the poor man will not brush the shoes of another poor man who can give him no pay, and all the social wheels would be ablock. Equality before the laws we can have; equality of condition is impossible.—*From an oration at Yale, June 22d, 1874.*

Pioneers of the Pacific Coast—George H. Williams: We can look back and see, in the dim distance, the slowly-moving train; the wagons with their once white, but now dingy covers; the patient oxen, measuring their weary steps; men travel-stained and bronzed by exposure; women with mingled hope and care depicted upon their anxious faces; and children peering from their uneasy abodes, and wondering when their discomforts will cease. These are pioneers on their way to the promised land. Moons wax and wane, again and again; but day after day the toilsome march is resumed. Sometimes there are Indian scares and depredations; unbridged streams are encountered; rugged ascents and steep declivities occur; teams give out and wagons break down: but finally, through "moving accidents by flood and field," and when the year has glided into the gold and russet of autumn, they reach the long-looked-for end of their journey. To some, all this did not happen; to others, more than this happened. And there were those who looked back with sad hearts, and remembered where they had left the wild winds to chant their funeral requiem over a lonely and deserted grave.

When the pioneers arrived here, they found a land of marvelous beauty. They found extended prairies, rich with luxuriant verdure. They found grand and gloomy forests, majestic rivers, and mountains covered with eternal snow; but they found no friends to greet them, no homes to go to, nothing but the genial heavens and the generous earth to give them consolation and hope.—*From an address delivered at Portland, Oregon, in March 1895.*

Pliny the Younger—Liberty and Order: What is better than civil order? What is more precious than liberty? How base then must he be who turns order into anarchy and liberty into slavery.

Politics on the Bench—Chief-Justice Mansfield: The Constitution does not allow reasons of state to influence our judgments. God forbid it should! We must not regard political consequences, how formidable soever they might be; if rebellion was the certain consequence, we are bound to say, "*Fiat justitia, ruat cælum.*" We are to say what we take the law to be; if we do not speak our real opinions, we prevaricate with God and our own consciences.—*In the case of Wilkes.*

Popular Government—Daniel Webster: The people's government, made for the people, made by the people, and answerable to the people.—*From a speech in the United States Senate, 1830.*

Power Without Justice—Louis Kossuth: Nations, proud of your momentary power; proud of your freedom; proud of your prosperity! your power is vain, your freedom is vain, your industry, your wealth, your prosperity are vain; all this will not save you from sharing the mournful fate of those old nations not

less powerful than you, not less free, not less prosperous than you,—and still fallen, as you yourself shall fall,—all vanished as you shall vanish, like a bubble thrown up from the deep! There is only the law of Christ, there are only the duties of Christianity which can secure your future, by securing at the same time humanity.

Prayer and Providence—Benjamin Franklin: In this situation of this assembly,—groping, as it were, in the dark, to find political truth, and scarce able to distinguish it when presented to us,—how has it happened, sir, that we have not hitherto once thought of humbly applying to the Father of Light to illuminate our understanding? . . . I have lived, sir, a long time; and the longer I live, the more convincing proofs I see of this truth,—that God governs in the affairs of men. And if a sparrow cannot fall to the ground without his notice, is it probable that an empire can rise without his aid? We have been assured, sir, in the Sacred Writings, that «except the Lord build the house, they labor in vain that build it.» I firmly believe this; and I also believe that, without his concurring aid, we shall succeed in this political building no better than the builders of Babel; we shall be divided by our little, partial, local interests; our projects will be confounded and we ourselves shall become a reproach and a byword down to future ages. And, what is worse, mankind may hereafter, from this unfortunate instance, despair of establishing government by human wisdom, and leave it to chance, war, and conquest.—*From a speech in the Constitutional Convention of 1787.*

Public Benefactors and Their Rewards—Lord Brougham: It has been the lot of all men, in all ages, who have aspired at the honor of guiding, instructing, or amending mankind, to have their paths beset by every persecution from adversaries, by every misconstruction from friends; no quarter from the one,—no charitable construction from the other! To be misconstrued, misrepresented, borne down, till it was in vain to bear down any longer, has been their fate. But truth will survive, and calumny has its day.

Public Office a Public Trust—William Wallace Orapo: Public offices are a public trust, to be held and administered with the same exact justice and the same conscientious regard for the responsibilities involved as are required in the execution of private trusts.—*From an opening address to the Massachusetts Republican State Convention, 1881.*

Public Opinion—Daniel Webster: We think that nothing is powerful enough to stand before autocratic, monarchical, or despotic power. There is something strong enough, quite strong enough,—and, if properly exerted, will prove itself so,—and that is the power of intelligent public opinion in all the nations of the earth. There is not a monarch on earth whose throne is not liable to be shaken by the progress of opinion, and the sentiment of the just and intelligent part of the people. It becomes us, in the station which we hold, to let that public opinion, so far as we form it, have a free course. Let it go out; let it be pronounced in thunder tones; let it open the ears of the deaf; let it open the eyes of the blind; and let it everywhere be proclaimed what we of this great Republic think of the general principle of human liberty, and of that oppression which all abhor.—*From a speech in 1852.*

Quintilian—Oratory and Virtue: Now, according to my definition, no man can be a perfect orator unless he is also a good man.

Randall, S. J.—Protection and Free Trade Under the Constitution: I do not favor a tariff enacted upon the ground of protection simply for the sake of protection, because I doubt the existence of any constitutional warrant for any such construction or the grant of any such power. It would manifestly be in the nature of class legislation, and to such legislation, favoring one class at the expense of any other, I have always been opposed.

In my judgment the question of free trade will not arise practically in this country during our lives, if ever, so long as we continue to raise revenue by duties on imports, and, therefore, the discussion of that principle is an absolute waste of time. After our public debt is paid in full, our expenditures can hardly be much below two hundred million dollars, and if this is levied in a businesslike and intelligent manner it will afford adequate protection to every industrial interest in the United States. The assertion that the Constitution permits the levying of duties in favor of protection «for the sake of protection» is equally uncalled for and unnecessary. Both are alike delusory and not involved in any practical administrative policy. If brought to the test, I believe neither would stand for a day. Protection for the sake of protection is prohibition pure and simple of importation, and if there be no importation, there will be no duties collected, and consequently no revenue, leaving the necessary expenses of the Government to be collected by direct taxes.—*From a speech in Congress, May 5th, 1882.*

Rather Be Right than President—Henry Clay: Sir, I had rather be right than President.—*To Senator W. C. Preston, of South Carolina, 1839.*

Representative Government—George MacDuffie: It is obvious that liberty has a more extensive and durable foundation in the United States than it ever has had in any other age or country. By the representative principle,—a principle unknown and impracticable among the Ancients,—the whole mass of society is brought to operate in constraining the action of power, and in the conservation of public liberty.

Revolutionists of Seventy-Six — Kenneth Rayner: The extension of our country's limits; the rapid progress of our civilization, our freedom, our religion, and our laws; the triumphs of our arms; the advancement of our commerce; our wonderful improvements in literature, in arts, and in industrial enterprise; in fact, the teeming wealth and luxury and comfort of our boundless resources, and the numberless blessings with which kind heaven has favored us,—for the germ and development of all these, our revolutionary benefactors, who appealed to heaven for the rectitude of their intentions, uttered the declaration: «Let this nation be free»; and lo! it was free! Sir, can we, their posterity, feel gratitude warm enough to requite the boon they bequeathed us? Can we speak in language glowing enough duly to sound their praise? Can we build monuments high enough to tell the story of their deeds? —*From a speech in the North Carolina legislature, January 20th, 1855.*

Right or Wrong, Our Country — Stephen Decatur: Our Country! In her intercourse with foreign nations, may she always be in the right; but our Country, right or wrong.—*A toast in 1816.*

Rollins, James Sidney — Southern Patriotism: Washington and Jefferson, Madison, Clay, and Jackson were not only Southern men, but they were all slaveholders; while if you will trace the history of slavery on this continent, you will find that the people of the Northern States were as largely instrumental, and profited as much, in the establishment of African slavery here as did the Southern people. Whatever guilt attaches to it in a moral or political point of view must be forever shared equally by the North and South. Sir, the great men of the South need no defense at my hands. There is not a page in your country's history that is not illuminated and adorned by their wisdom, their patriotism, and their valor. From the time that the first blow was struck in the cause of American independence until the breaking out of this «accursed rebellion,» there is scarcely a battlefield whose sands were not moistened by the blood of patriotic Southern men. To them the world is largely indebted for the establishment of free government on this continent. And the cause of humanity and liberty in the distant regions of the earth has had no truer and warmer advocates in this Capitol than Southern men, whose eloquent words came—

> «So softly that, like flakes of feathered snow,
> They melted as they fell.»

—*From a speech delivered in the House of Representatives, April 24th, 1862.*

Rum, Romanism, and Rebellion — Reverend Samuel Dickinson Burchard: We are Republicans and don't propose to leave our party and identify ourselves with the party whose antecedents have been Rum, Romanism, and Rebellion!—*From an address made as one of a deputation of clergy visiting Mr. Blaine, at the Fifth Avenue Hotel, New York city, October 29th, 1884.*

Rush, Benjamin — Extent of Territory: Let every man exert himself in promoting virtue and knowledge in our country, and we shall soon become good republicans. Look at the steps by which governments have been changed, or rendered stable in Europe. Read the history of Great Britain. Her boasted government has risen out of wars and rebellions that lasted above six hundred years. The United States are traveling peaceably into order and good government. They know no strife—but what arises from the collision of opinions; and, in three years, they have advanced further in the road to stability and happiness than most of the nations in Europe have done in as many centuries.

There is but one path that can lead the United States to destruction; and that is their extent of territory. It was probably to effect this that Great Britain ceded to us so much waste land. But even this path may be avoided. —*From an address of 1787, previous to the meeting of the Constitutional Convention.*

Savonarola, Girolamo — Compassion in Heaven: God remits the sins of men, and justifies them by his mercy. There are as many compassions in heaven as there are justified men upon earth; for none are saved by their own works. No man can boast of himself; and if, in the presence of God, we could ask all these justified sinners—Have you been saved by your own strength?—all would reply as with one voice, Not unto us, O Lord! not unto us; but to thy name be the glory!—Therefore, O God, do I seek thy mercy, and I bring not unto thee my own righteousness; but when by thy grace thou justifiest me, then thy righteousness belongs unto me; for grace is the righteousness of God. So long, O man, so long as thou believest not, thou art, because of thy sin, destitute of grace. O God, save me by thy righteousness, that is to say, in thy Son, who alone among men was found without sin.

Secession in Peace Impossible — Daniel Webster: Such a thing as peaceable secession! It is utterly impossible. Is the Constitution under which we live, covering this whole country, to be thawed and melted away by secession, as the snows upon the mountains are melted under the influence of a vernal sun, to disappear almost unobserved? Our ancestors would rebuke and reproach us; our children and grandchildren would cry shame upon us, if we of this generation should tarnish those ensigns of the honor, power, and harmony of the Union, which we now behold with so much joy and gratitude.

Peaceable secession! A concurrent resolution of all the members of this great Republic to separate! Where is the line to be drawn? What States are to be associated? What is to become of the army? What is to become of the navy? What is to become of the public

lands? Alas! what is to remain of America? What am I to be? Where is our flag to remain? Where is the eagle still to soar aloft? or is he to cower, and shrink, and fall to the earth?

Sir, we could not sit down here to-day, and draw a line of separation that would satisfy any five men in the country. There are natural causes that would keep and tie us together, and there are social and domestic relations which we could not break if we would, and which we should not if we could.—*From a speech in 1850.*

Self-Government—Thomas Jefferson: Sometimes it is said that man cannot be trusted with the government of himself. Can he, then, be trusted with the government of others? Or have we found angels in the form of kings to govern him? Let history answer this question.

Service to Party and Country—Rutherford B. Hayes: The President . . . should strive to be always mindful of the fact that he serves his party best who serves the country best.—*Inaugural, 1877.*

Shoot Him on the Spot—John A. Dix: If any one attempt to haul down the American flag, shoot him on the spot.—*A telegram sent January 29th, 1861.*

Sink or Swim, Live or Die—Daniel Webster (Attributed by Him to John Adams): Sink or swim, live or die, survive or perish, I give my hand and my heart to this vote. It is true, indeed, that in the beginning we aimed not at independence. But there's a divinity which shapes our ends. The injustice of England has driven us to arms; and, blinded to her own interest, for our good, she has obstinately persisted, till independence is now within our grasp. We have but to reach forth to it, and it is ours. Why, then, should we defer the Declaration? Is any man so weak as now to hope for a reconciliation with England, which shall leave either safety to the country and its liberties, or safety to his own life and his own honor?

Slanderers as Insects—Lord Brougham: Not that they wound deeply or injure much; but that is no fault of theirs; without hurting they give trouble and discomfort. The insect brought into life by corruption, and nested in filth, though its flight be lowly and its sting puny, can swarm and buzz and irritate the skin and offend the nostril, and altogether give us nearly as much annoyance as the wasp, whose nobler nature it strives to emulate. These reverend slanderers,—these pious backbiters,—devoid of force to wield the sword, snatch the dagger; and destitute of wit to point or to barb it, and make it rankle in the wound, steep it in venom to make it fester in the scratch.

Sober Second Thought—Fisher Ames: I consider biennial elections as a security that the «sober, second thought» of the people shall be law.—*Quoting Matthew Hale.*

Society and Government—John C. Calhoun: Society can no more exist without government, in one form or another, than man without society. It is the political, then, which includes the social, that is his natural state.

Soulé, Pierre—American Progress: Sir, public opinion scorns the presumptuous thought that you can restrain this growing country within the narrow sphere of action originally assigned to its nascent energies, and keep it eternally bound up in swaddles. As the infant grows, it requires a more substantial nourishment, a more active exercise. So the lusty appetite of its manhood would ill fare with what might satisfy the soberer demands of its youth. Do not, therefore, attempt to stop it on its onward career; for as well might you command the sun not to break through the fleecy clouds that herald its advent in the horizon, or to shroud itself in gloom and darkness as it ascends the meridian.—*From a speech delivered in the Senate Chamber of the United States, March 12th, 1852.*

Sovereignty of Individual Manhood—D. Uhlman: The great truth which was promulgated by the Declaration of Independence, and established by the War of the Revolution, and made the distinguishing characteristic of our nationality, was that all legitimate power resides in, and is derived from, the people. This sublime truth, to us so self-evident, so simple, so obvious, was before that time measurably undeveloped in the history of the world. Philosophers, in their dreams, had built ideal governments; Plato had luxuriated in the happiness of his fanciful republic; Sir Thomas More had reveled in the bright visions of his Utopia; the immortal Milton had uttered his sublime views on freedom; and the great Locke had published his profound speculations on the true principles of government; but never, until the establishment of American independence, was it, except in very imperfect modes, acknowledged by a nation, and made the corner-stone and foundation of its government that the sovereign power is vested in the mass.—*From a speech in 1855.*

Spanish-American Independence—George Canning: Contemplating Spain such as our ancestors had known her, I resolved that, if France had Spain, it should not be Spain «with the Indies.» I called the New World into existence, to redress the balance of the Old! Thus, sir, I answer the question of the occupation of Spain by the army of France.—*From a speech in Parliament in 1826.*

Spoils—William L. Marcy: To the victors belong the spoils of the enemy.—*United States Senate, January 1832.*

Step to the Music of the Union—Rufus Choate: We join ourselves to no party that does not carry the flag and keep step to the music of the Union.—*To the Whig Convention, October 1st, 1855.*

Storrs, R. S.—Short Sermons: It is when we have borne submissively some dreadful sorrow that we see the golden ladder reaching upward, as did Perpetua from the darkness of the dungeon; when we have given ourselves to some great work and wrought it, by God's help and the inspiration of his spirit, triumphantly to the end, that the vision of heaven is granted us. . . .

Eternal punishment is not simply a voluntary infliction; it is the consolidation and perpetuation of evil character, projecting itself into the eternal world, and reaping its own self-prepared results and consequences. . . .

When loss of property and loss of repute are come, when the severance of friendship has come, when the future is overcast with disappointment, and hopes are shattered, and we know nothing of what is to come except simply this, that we know God's will must be done, and try to do what is pleasing in his sight, and leave all to him, the endurance which then reveals itself is the masterful power of the human will. Men trained in this experience cannot be frightened nor disheartened by troubles, however great. . . .

There is no life which in the past has testified to the power and beauty of the Gospel but what lives to-day and shall continue in our future, unfolding life. There has been no shrinking from duty or sluggishness but what has left its impress on us; and on the other hand, no gift, no act of self-denial which does not still work in us as a beneficent power. . . .

You may measure, better than by anything else, the moral value of man or woman, by that aspiration which is central and permanent in their spirit and life. . . .

Strong Government—Thomas Jefferson: I believe this, on the contrary, the strongest government on earth. I believe it the only one where every man, at the call of the law, would fly to the standard of the law, and would meet invasions of the public order, as his own personal concern.

Supreme Court, The—Horace Binney: What, sir, is the Supreme Court of the United States? It is the august representative of the wisdom and justice and conscience of this whole people, in the exposition of their Constitution and laws. It is the peaceful and venerable arbitrator between the citizens in all questions touching the extent and sway of constitutional power. It is the great moral substitute for force in controversies between the people, the States, and the Union.

Swing, David—Apothegms: Let us learn to be content with what we have, with the place we have in life. Let us get rid of our false estimates, let us throw down the god Money from its pedestal, trample that senseless idol under foot, set up all the higher ideals—a neat home, vines of our own planting, a few books full of the inspiration of genius, a few friends worthy of being loved, and able to love us in return; a hundred innocent pleasures that bring no pain or remorse, a devotion to the right that will never swerve, a simple religion empty of all bigotry, full of hope and trust and love, and to such a philosophy this world will give up all the joy it has. . . .

Thinkers alone cannot make a great period. The glory of Christ was not that he knew much, but that he loved much. . . .

A novel is the world's truth with a beautiful woman walking through it. . . .

As the sky has a higher dome than St. Peter's, so has nature a greater architect than Angelo. . . .

When a man pursues money only, his features become narrowed; his eyes shrink and converge; his smile, when he has any, hardens; his language fails of poetry and ornament; his letters to a friend dwindle down to a telegraphic dispatch; he seems to have no time for anything, because his heart has only one thing for which it wishes time. . . .

Swinging Around the Circle—Andrew Johnson: We are swinging around the circle. —*Said of his tour in 1866.*

Taxation when Unnecessary a Robbery—John C. Calhoun: Will you collect money when it is acknowledged that it is not wanted? He who earns the money, who digs it from the earth with the sweat of his brow, has a just title to it, against the universe. No one has a right to touch it without his consent, except his government, and that only to the extent of its legitimate wants;—to take more is robbery; and you propose by this bill to enforce robbery by murder. Yes! to this result you must come, by this miserable sophistry, this vague abstraction of enforcing the law, without a regard to the fact whether the law be just or unjust, constitutional or unconstitutional!

Tea Taxes and the American Character—Colonel Isaac Barré: The Americans may be flattered into anything; but they are too much like yourselves to be driven. Have some indulgence for your own likeness; respect their sturdy English virtue; retract your odious exertions of authority, and remember that the first step towards making them contribute to your wants is to reconcile them to your government.

The Bloody Chasm—Horace Greeley: I accept your nomination in the confident trust that the masses of our countrymen, North and South, are eager to clasp hands across the bloody chasm which has so long divided them. —*Accepting the Liberal Republican nomination, 1872.*

The Constitution as It Is, and the Union as It Was—James Sidney Rollins: Our safety consists in guarding with jealous care the rights and the powers of the individual States, as well as of the General Government, as defined in the Federal Constitution—a Con-

stitution that in the achievements of human wisdom stands without a parallel. . . . For one, sir, I should be content to-day with the old order of things, with «the Constitution as it is and the Union as it was.» They met the objects for which they were created. No people on earth ever prospered as did the American people under the influence of our free and beneficent institutions. They were established by the wisest and noblest men that ever adorned the annals of human history. I was satisfied with their work. It was good enough for me and my children.—*From a speech in the House of Representatives, May 30th, 1864.*

The Only People Who Can Harm Us—Benjamin Harrison: It is not in the power of any people upon earth much to harm us, except our own people.

Tyler, John—The Flag of Yorktown: I regard union, next to freedom, as the greatest of blessings. Yes, sir, «the Federal Union must be preserved.» But how? Will you seek to preserve it by force? Will you appease the angry spirit of discord by an oblation of blood? Suppose that the proud and haughty spirit of South Carolina shall not bend to your high edicts in token of fealty; that you make war upon her, hang her governor, her legislators, and judges, as traitors, and reduce her to the condition of a conquered province—have you preserved the Union? This Union consists of twenty-four States; would you have preserved the Union by striking out one of the States—one of the old thirteen? Gentlemen have boasted of the flag of our country with its thirteen stars. When the light of one of these stars shall have been extinguished, will the flag wave over us under which our fathers fought? If we are to go on striking out star after star, what will finally remain but a central and a burning sun, blighting and destroying every germ of liberty? The flag which I wish to wave over me is that which floated in triumph at Saratoga and Yorktown. It bore upon it thirteen States, of which South Carolina was one. Sir, there is a great difference between preserving union and preserving government; the Union may be annihilated, yet government preserved; but under such a government no man ought to desire to live.—*From the debate in the United States Senate on the Revenue Collection Bill of 1833.*

Union, not Nation—John C. Calhoun: I never use the word «Nation» in speaking of the United States; I always use the word «Union,» or «Confederacy.» We are not a Nation, but a Union, a confederacy of equal and sovereign States. England is a nation, Austria is a nation, Russia is a nation, but the United States are not a nation.

Van Buren Martin—Expansion Before the Mexican and Civil Wars: Certain danger was foretold from the extension of our territory, the multiplication of States, and the increase of population. Our system was supposed to be adapted only to boundaries comparatively narrow. These have been widened beyond conjecture; the members of our confederacy are already doubled; and the numbers of our people are incredibly augmented. The alleged causes of danger have long surpassed anticipation, but none of the consequences have followed. The power and influence of the Republic have risen to a height obvious to all mankind; respect for its authority was not more apparent at its ancient than it is at its present limits; new and inexhaustible sources of general prosperity have been opened; the effects of distance have been averted by the inventive genius of our people, developed and fostered by the spirit of our institutions, and the enlarged variety and amount of interests, productions, and pursuits have strengthened the chain of mutual dependence, and formed a circle of mutual benefits too apparent ever to be overlooked.—*From his first annual message, 1837.*

Vest, George Graham—The Ligament of Union: As I said the other day, I have never risen myself to that solar region, that high philosophical lunar altitude where I could overlook the people who sent me here and the State which did me the honor to give me a place on this floor. While I am a Senator of the United States, I am not here to take care especially of Massachusetts or Pennsylvania, when they have Senators upon this floor who, more ably than I can possibly do, look to those interests. I believe, as a Democrat, that the ligament which binds these States together to a common prosperity and in a glorious Union is the ligament based upon State interests, local interests, and the fact that every local interest is represented upon this floor and in the chamber of the other house.—*From a speech in the Senate in 1883.*

Vinet, Alexander—The Meaning of Religion: What is religion? It is God putting himself in communication with man; the Creator with the creature, the infinite with the finite. There already, without going further, is a mystery; a mystery common to all religions, impenetrable in all, religions. If then, every thing which is a mystery offends you, you are arrested on the threshold, I will not say of Christianity, but of every religion; I say, even of that religion which is called natural, because it rejects revelation and miracles; for it necessarily implies, at the very least, a connection, a communication of some sort between God and man—the contrary being equivalent to atheism. Your claim prevents you from having any belief; and because you have not been willing to be Christians, it will not allow you to be Deists.—*From a sermon on I. Corinthians xi. 9.*

Voices from the Grave—Victor Hugo: It is not the will of God that liberty, which is his word, should be silent. Citizens! the moment that triumphant despots believe that they have forever taken the power of speech from ideas, it is restored by the Almighty. This tribune

destroyed, he reconstructs it. Not in the midst of the public square — not with granite or marble; there is no need of that. He reconstructs it in solitude; he reconstructs it with the grass of the cemetery, with the shade of the cypress, with the gloomy hillock made by the coffins buried in the earth — and from this solitude, this grass, this cypress, these hidden coffins, know you, citizens, what proceeds? There comes the heartrending cry of humanity — there comes denunciation and testimony — there comes the inexorable accusation which causes the crowned criminal to turn pale — there comes the terrible protest of the dead!

War — Horace Binney: War is a tremendous evil. Come when it will, unless it shall come in the necessary defense of our national security, or of that honor under whose protection national security reposes, it will come too soon; — too soon for our national prosperity; too soon for our individual happiness; too soon for the frugal, industrious, and virtuous habits of our citizens; too soon, perhaps, for our most precious institutions. The man who, for any cause, save the sacred cause of public security, which makes all wars defensive,— the man who, for any cause but this, shall promote or compel this final and terrible resort, assumes a responsibility second to none,— nay, transcendently deeper and higher than any,— which man can assume before his fellow-men, or in the presence of God his Creator.

War and Military Chieftains — John B. Henderson: War is not the customary business of nations. It is abnormal. War is frenzy and it brings with it pain, poverty, and destitution. Peace is happiness, and brings in its train wealth, civilization, education, morality, religion. It was the arts of peace that the colonists would cultivate. They were wise men and selected the best instrumentalities for the purpose. This was the Golden Age of American history.

After the late War of the Rebellion, the same conditions existed that followed the Revolutionary struggle. As the colonists honored Washington, so a grateful nation properly honored General Grant,— one was the hero of the first great war, the other the hero of the second. Each has been honored alike. The fame of Washington is secure. The fame of Grant will be best secured by following the example of Washington. It is enough for any man that his honors are equal to those of Washington; the ambition that seeks for more may well be doubted.

The questions affecting our interests now are questions of political economy. They belong to the statesman and not to the soldier. When we are sick we call in the physician; when our rights of property are in dispute we call upon the lawyer; when wars prevail and armies are to be commanded, we need the soldier; but when great commercial or financial problems are to be solved, we should appeal to the statesman. If there be anarchists, socialists, and labor reformers in the land, they are the outgrowth of the hard times which invariably follow upon the heels of war. . . . To remove these complaints is the work of statesmen. The military chieftain is as little qualified to treat such disorders as he is to treat the wounded soldiers upon the battlefield of his victories.— *From a speech made at Chillicothe, Missouri, against a third term in the presidency.*

War and the Constitution — Edgar E. Bryant: Wars have grafted constructions on the constitutions of every nation under the sun, and so our great civil strife forcibly and forever construed and interpreted our Constitution. It was in itself no question of moral right or wrong that was involved in the problem; it was simply a question of the true spirit and intention of the constitutional contract and the meaning of this Union. The question of moral right or wrong can only enter to test the sincerity or insincerity of the advocacy of the respective views. If both were sincere, then both were patriotic, and the one was right and the other was not wrong. If our fathers were sincere, earnest, and honest in their views of government, if they fought for what they believed to be right, for what they believed to be the true intent, spirit, and meaning of the Constitution, they cannot in history be denied the meed of highest honor for patriotic purposes.— *From an address to Arkansas Ex-Confederates in 1893.*

Washington — R. C. Winthrop: The Republic may perish; the wide arch of our raised Union may fall; star by star its glories may expire; stone after stone its columns and its capitol may molder and crumble; all other names which adorn its annals may be forgotten; but as long as human hearts shall anywhere pant, or human tongue shall anywhere plead, for a sure, rational, constitutional liberty, those hearts shall enshrine the memory and those tongues shall prolong the fame, of George Washington.— *At the laying of the corner-stone of the Washington monument.*

Water — John B. Gough: Sweet, beautiful water! — brewed in the running brook, the rippling fountain, and the laughing rill — in the limpid cascade, as it joyfully leaps down the side of the mountain. Brewed in yonder mountain top, whose granite peaks glitter like gold bathed in the morning sun — brewed in the sparkling dewdrop: sweet, beautiful water! — brewed in the crested wave of the ocean deeps, driven by the storm, breathing its terrible anthem to the God of the Sea — brewed in the fleecy foam, and the whitened spray as it hangs like a speck over the distant cataract — brewed in the clouds of heaven: sweet, beautiful water! As it sings in the rain shower and dances in the hail storm — as it comes sweeping down in feathery flakes, clothing the earth in a spotless mantle of white — always beautiful! Distilled in the golden tissues that paint the western sky at the setting of the sun, and the silvery tissues that veil the midnight moon — sweet, health-

giving, beautiful water! Distilled in the rainbow of promise, whose warp is the raindrop of earth, and whose woof is the sunbeam of heaven — sweet, beautiful water! — *From his temperance lectures.*

Watterson, Henry — Opening the World's Fair: We look before and after, and we see through the half-drawn folds of time as through the solemn archways of some grand cathedral the long procession passes, as silent and as real as a dream; the caravels, tossing upon Atlantic billows, have their sails refilled from the East and bear away to the West; the land is reached, and fulfilled is the vision whose actualities are to be gathered by other hands than his who planned the voyage and steered the bark of discovery; the long-sought golden day has come to Spain at last, and Castilian conquests tread one upon another fast enough to pile up perpetual power and riches.

But even as simple justice was denied Columbus, was lasting tenure denied the Spaniard.

We look again, and we see in the far Northeast the Old World struggle between the French and English transferred to the New, ending in the tragedy upon the heights above Quebec; we see the sturdy Puritans in bell-crowned hats and sable garments assail in unequal battle the savage and the elements, overcoming both to rise against a mightier foe; we see the gay but dauntless cavaliers, to the southward, join hands with the Roundheads in holy rebellion. And, lo, down from the green-walled hills of New England, out of the swamps of the Carolinas, come faintly to the ear like far-away forest leaves stirred to music by autumn winds, the drum taps of the Revolution; the tramp of the minute-men, Israel Putnam riding before; the hoof beats of Sumter's horse galloping to the front; the thunder of Stark's guns in spirit battle; the gleam of Marion's watch-fires in ghostly bivouac; and there, there in serried, saint-like ranks on Fame's eternal camping ground stand —

> "The old Continentals —
> In their ragged regimentals,
> Yielding not" —

as, amid the singing of angels in heaven, the scene is shut out from our mortal vision by proud and happy tears.

We see the rise of the young Republic, and the gentlemen in knee breeches and powdered wigs who made the Constitution. We see the little nation menaced from without. We see the riflemen in hunting shirt and buckskin swarm from the cabin in the wilderness to the rescue of country and home; and our hearts swell to see the second and final decree of independence won by the prowess and valor of American arms upon the land and sea.

And then, and then — since there is no life of nations or of men without its shadow and its sorrow — there comes a day when the spirits of the fathers no longer walk upon the battlements of freedom; and all is dark; and all seems lost save liberty and honor, and, praise God! our blessed Union. With these surviving, who shall marvel at what we see to-day — this land filled with the treasures of earth; this city, snatched from the ashes to rise in splendor and renown, passing the mind to preconceive?

Truly, out of trial comes the strength of man; out of disaster comes the glory of the State. — *From the dedicatory address at the World's Fair in Chicago, October 21st, 1892.*

Weakness not Natural — Patrick Henry: Sir, we are not weak, if we make a proper use of those means which the God of nature hath placed in our power.

Weaver, James B. — Brethren in Unity: We have had in this controversy everything that was nauseating, everything that was sickening to the public taste, brought in and harrowed up by the discussion; the invasion of bleeding Kansas; John Brown and the capture of Harper's Ferry; the entry of Boston by Federal troops to capture or kidnap Burns; the riots in New York; the destruction of the orphan asylum, and Governor Seymour's speech to his "friends"; and some gentleman spoke, I believe, in a serio-comic way of the invasion of the sacred soil of Pennsylvania by George Washington to suppress the whisky riot. I would suggest to my venerable friend from Pennsylvania [Mr. Wright] that when an appropriation is asked for the Washington monument, he should not let that pass until he has George Washington's conduct in that matter fully investigated.

When I heard, Mr. Chairman, the bugle call of the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Garfield] to his "skirmishers," and when I saw him gracefully bow his shoulder that that "chip" might fall off, if perchance some Democratic champion did not knock it off, and when I heard the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. Chalmers] in a regretful manner complain that the Confederacy had been shot to death, and saw him gallantly fire a parting shot at John Brown, as the soul of that patriot went marching on; and then when I looked to my right and saw the gallant commander of that grand march to the sea sitting on this floor, and on hastily looking around saw sitting in my rear the greatest living commander of the late forces of the Confederacy, — it was the first time he was ever in my rear — I must confess to you I felt the martial spirit rising again in my breast. I could almost hear the shout of the victor and the roar of the musketry. I "felt that stern joy that warriors feel in foemen worthy of their steel." But I controlled my feelings, Mr. Chairman, and reflected that of late years the distinguished commander who led the Union forces to the sea and the distinguished gentleman from Virginia [Mr. Johnston] have both taken anew the oath of allegiance to the Constitution, and are both drawing handsome salaries under the same Government, payable in greenbacks. Then that blessed quotation came into my mind: "How good and how pleasant it is for brethren to

dwell together in unity.»—*From a speech of April 2d, 1879, delivered in the House of Representatives on the Army Bill.*

We Must Hang Together—Benjamin Franklin: We must all hang together, or assuredly we shall all hang separately.—*Said at the signing of the Declaration of Independence, July 4th, 1776.*

What Are We Here For—Webster M. Flanagan: What are we here for but the offices?—*At the Republican National Convention, Chicago, 1880.*

Whig Spirit of the Eighteenth Century—Chatham: The spirit which now resists your taxation in America is the same which formerly opposed loans, benevolences, and Ship Money in England; the same spirit which called all England on its legs, and by the Bill of Rights vindicated the English Constitution; the same spirit which established the great fundamental essential maxim of your liberties, that no subject of England shall be taxed but by his own consent. This glorious Whig spirit animates three millions in America who prefer poverty with liberty to gilded chains and sordid affluence, and who will die in defense of their rights as men, as freemen.

Why Not Let Well Enough Alone?—John B. Henderson: We are now entering upon an untried experiment in our system of government. Why not let well enough alone?

Imperialism contains more armed soldiers than the fabled wooden horse of Troy. Imperialism reverses the entire theory of self-government. It discards the wisdom of our fathers, repudiates, without shame, the Monroe Doctrine, and joins hands with the execrated Holy Alliance. It rejects the civil equality of men and accepts, without protest, the oppressions and despotism of the sixteenth century. This war in the Philippines brings us back into the shadows of the Dark Ages. It is a war for which no justification can be urged. As no reasons could be assigned for its existence, Congress was ashamed to make up any record of its declaration. It has scarcely better excuse than the wars of subjugation waged by imperial Rome, whose object was to plunder, and enslave the weak, and whose result was, in the language of its own historian, to make a desert of other lands and call it peace.—*From an address delivered at St. Louis, February 1899, on Imperialism.*

Wilmot, David—«Fanaticism» and «Property Rights»: The instincts of money are the same the world over—the same here as in the most grinding despotism of Europe. Money is cold, selfish, heartless. It has no pulse of humanity, no feelings of pity or of love. Interest, gain, accumulation, are the sole instincts of its nature; and it is the same, whether invested in manufacturing stock, bank stock, or the black stock of the South. Intent on its own interest, it is utterly regardless of the rights of humanity. It would coin dividends out of the destruction of souls. Here, then, sir, we have sixteen hundred millions of capital—heartless, unfeeling capital, intent on its own pecuniary advancement. It is here, sir, in these halls, in desperate conflict with the rights of humanity and of free labor. It is struggling to clutch in its iron grasp the soil of the country—that soil which is man's inheritance, and which of right should belong to him who labors upon it. Sixteen hundred millions of dollars demands the soil of our territories in perpetuity, for its human chattels—to drive back the free laborer from his rightful field of enterprise—from his lawful and God-given inheritance. Slavery must have a wider field, or the money value of flesh and blood will deteriorate. Additional security and strength must be given to the holders of human stock. What though humanity should shriek and wail? Money is insatiate—capital is deaf to the voice of its pleadings. To oppose the extension of slavery—to resist in the councils of the nation the demands of this huge money power—to advocate the rights of humanity and of free labor is, in the estimation of the gentleman from Illinois, to be sectional and fanatical. To bow down to this money power—to do its bidding—to be its instrument and its tool, is doubtless, in the esteem of the gentleman, to stand upon a «broad and national platform.» Freedom and humanity, truth and justice, is a platform too narrow for his enlarged and comprehensive mind,—the universality of slavery can alone fill its capacious powers. Slavery is democratic—freedom fanatical! Sir, the gentleman no doubt sees fanaticism in a bold and fearless advocacy of the right. With some minds nothing is rational and practical except that which pays well.—*From a speech in Congress, July 24th, 1856.*

Winthrop, Robert C.—The Union of 1776: Our fathers were no propagandists of republican institutions in the abstract. Their own adoption of a republican form was, at the moment, almost as much a matter of chance as of choice, of necessity as of preference. The thirteen colonies had, happily, been too long accustomed to manage their own affairs, and were too widely jealous of each other, also, to admit for an instant any idea of centralization; and without centralization a monarchy, or any other form of arbitrary government, was out of the question. Union was then, as it is now, the only safety for liberty; but it could only be a constitutional union, a limited and restricted union, founded on compromises and mutual concessions; a union recognizing a large measure of State rights—resting not only on the division of powers among legislative and executive departments, but resting also on the distribution of powers between the States and the Nation, both deriving their original authority from the people, and exercising that authority for the people. This was the system contemplated by the declaration of 1776. This was the system approximated to by the confederation of

1778-81. This was the system finally consummated by the Constitution of 1789. And under this system our great example of self-government has been held up before the nations, fulfilling, so far as it has fulfilled it, that lofty mission which is recognized to-day as «liberty enlightening the world.»—*From his Centennial oration delivered in Boston, July 4th, 1876.*

Woman's Rights—Cato the Elder: If, Romans, every individual among us had made it a rule to maintain the prerogative and authority of a husband with respect to his own wife, we should have less trouble with the whole sex. But now, our privileges, overpowered at home by female contumacy, are, even here in the forum, spurned and trodden under foot; and because we are unable to withstand each separately, we now dread their collective body. I was accustomed to think it a fabulous and fictitious tale, that, in a certain island, the whole race of males was utterly extirpated by a conspiracy of the women. But the utmost danger may be apprehended equally from either sex, if you suffer cabals and secret consultations to be held; scarcely, indeed, can I determine, in my own mind, whether the act itself, or the precedent that it affords, is of more pernicious tendency. The latter of these more particularly concerns us consuls, and the other magistrates; the former, you, my fellow-citizens: for, whether the measure proposed to your consideration be profitable to the State or not, is to be determined by you, who are to vote on the occasion. As to the outrageous behavior of these women, whether it be merely an act of their own, or owing to your instigations, Marcus Fundanius and Lucius Valerius, it unquestionably implies culpable conduct in magistrates. I know not whether it reflects greater disgrace on you, tribunes, or on the consuls: on you certainly, if you have brought these women hither for the purpose of raising tribunitian sedition; on us, if we suffer laws to be imposed upon us by a secession of women, as was done formerly by that of the common people. It was not without painful emotions of shame, that I, just now, made my way into the forum through the midst of a band of women. Had I not been restrained by respect for the modesty and dignity of some individuals among them, rather than of the whole number, and been unwilling that they should be seen rebuked by a consul, I should not have refrained from saying to them: «What sort of practice is this, of running out into the public, besetting the streets, and addressing other women's husbands? Could not each have made the same request to her husband at home? Are your blandishments more seducing in public than in private, and with other women's husbands than with your own? Although if females would let their modesty confine them within the limits of their own rights, it did not become you, even at home, to concern yourselves about any laws that might be passed or repealed here.» Our ancestors thought it not proper that women should perform any, even private business, without a director; but that they should be ever under the control of parents, brothers, or husbands. We, it seems, suffer them, now, to interfere in the management of State affairs, and to thrust themselves into the forum, into general assemblies, and into assemblies of election: for what are they doing at this moment in your streets and lanes? What, but arguing, some in support of the motion of tribunes; others contending for the repeal of the law? . . . This is the smallest of the injunctions laid on them by usage or the laws, all which women bear with impatience; they long for entire liberty; nay to speak the truth, not for liberty, but for unbounded freedom in every particular: for what will they not attempt, if they now come off victorious? Recollect all the institutions respecting the sex, by which our forefathers restrained them and subjected them to their husbands; and yet, even with the help of all these restrictions, they can scarcely be kept within bounds. If, then, you suffer them to throw these off one by one, to tear them all asunder, and, at last, to be set on an equal footing with yourselves, can you imagine that they will be any longer tolerable? Suffer them once to arrive at an equality with you, and they will from that moment become your superiors.—*From Livy xxxiv. 2.*

Woodbury, Levi—The Tariff of 1842: So, if you have the right to give protection to one branch of industry, as a legitimate constitutional end under the powers of the Federal Government, and not merely as an incidental consequence of duties imposed for revenue, why not march manfully to such protection in a separate bill? Why not, as in France, expressly prohibit what comes from abroad, and competes with our manufactures, which it is deemed so important to cherish? Why not add, likewise, direct bounties in other cases, where found necessary to sustain them? That would at least be intelligible, aboveboard, and the country would see and understand what Congress was really doing; and that policy would not, as in this case, by an unnatural combination, embarrass or endanger the only avowed object of this measure on its face—which is, to raise revenue.—*From a speech in the United States Senate, in August 1842.*

Woolworth, James M.—Individual Liberty. «Glittering generalities,» a most brilliant advocate called the self-evident truths of the Declaration. Possibly so; indeed, certainly so, if you stop with that instrument. But when they were realized in the conscience, and embedded in the moral constitution of the people, and interwoven with all the filaments of the heart, so as to give tone and temper to the common life, and appear and re-appear in the very efflorescence of popular sentiments, instincts, impulses, emotions, and passions, they became transcendent, vital, and all-governing facts. And so it is not strange, it is just what we should expect that these «glittering generalities» were

more particularly stated and defined in the constitutions, in other words to be sure, but words of the same meaning, sense, and import; that is to say, no person shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law; no State shall deny to any person the equal protection of the laws; private property shall not be taken for public use without just compensation; and the many other clauses, by which these fundamental rights, privileges, immunities, and franchises are assured; such as those guaranteeing free elections, free speech, justice administered without denial or delay, the privileges of the habeas corpus, trial by a jury of the vicinage, and so on and so on.

And thus, reversing our steps, we trace these mandates, prohibitions, and guarantees of our constitutions back to the comprehensive phrase of the Declaration of Independence, that governments are instituted to the end that each and every man may exercise all his faculties in whatever way he may, according to his own judgment, choose, so as to derive from them his highest enjoyment. The citizen, the person, the individual—living his own life, cherishing his own aspirations, making and meeting his own destiny, he is the integer; he is sacred; for him are all the solicitudes. To conserve his rights, consistently with those of others, and to give him opportunity to work out his own happiness, without responsibility to others, and without responsibility from others to him, governments are instituted. For these purposes are all the complex system of laws, the vast scheme of administration, the splendor and majesty of the immortal State.—*From his address as president of the American Bar Association, 1897.*

"World Politics"—James M. Beck: We must not as a people permit the past to fetter the present. That way retrogression lies, and our duty as a nation is to be determined by present, not by past conditions. We cannot even stand still. We must move onward. From civilization we derive inestimable rights, to her we owe immeasurable duties, and to shirk these is cowardice and moral death. No nation can live to itself, even if it would. The economic developments of the nineteenth century have produced a solidarity of humanity, which no racial prejudice or international hatred can destroy. Each nation is its brother's keeper, and the greater the power, the greater the responsibility. If this be so, no nation owes a greater duty to civilization to be potential in the councils of the world than the United States. For it to skulk and shirk behind the selfish policy of isolation and to abdicate a destined world supremacy would be the colossal crime of history.—*From an oration at Omaha during the Spanish War, 1898.*

Zollicofer, Joachim—Continuous Life and Everlasting Increase in Power: My existence is not confined to this fleeting moment! It will continue forever! My activity is not bounded by the narrow circle in which I now live and move; it will be ever enlarging, ever becoming more extensive and diversified. My intellectual powers are not subject to dissolution and decay like dust: they shall continue in operation and effect forever; and the more I exert them here, the better I employ them, the more I effect by them, so much better shall I use them in the future world; so much the more shall I there effect by them. I see before me an incessant enlargement of my sphere of sight and action, an incessant increase in knowledge, in virtue, in activity, in bliss. The whole immensity of God's creation, the whole unnumbered host of intelligent, thinking beings, all the hidden treasures of wisdom and knowledge in Jesus Christ, the unfathomable depths of Divine perfection—what noble employments, what displays of my powers, what pure joys, what everlasting progress, do not these afford to my expectations!—*From a Sermon on Psalms viii. 5.*

Zwingli, Ulrich—Extracts from His Sermons During the Reformation: Before the fall, man had been created with a free will, so that, had he been willing, he might have kept the law; his nature was pure; the disease of sin had not yet reached him; his life was in his own hands. But having desired to be as God, he died—and not he alone, but all his posterity. Since then in Adam all men are dead, no one can recall them to life, until the Spirit, which is God himself, raises them from the dead. . . .

Christ, very man and very God, has purchased for us a never-ending redemption. For since it was the eternal God who died for us, his passion is therefore an eternal sacrifice, and everlastingly effectual to heal; it satisfies the Divine justice forever in behalf of all those who rely upon it with firm and unshaken faith. Wherever sin is, death of necessity follows. Christ was without sin, and guile was not found in his mouth; and yet he died! This death he suffered in our stead! He was willing to die that he might restore us to life; and as he had no sins of his own, the all-merciful Father laid ours upon him. Seeing that the will of man had rebelled against the Most High, it was necessary for the re-establishment of eternal order, and for the salvation of man, that the human will should submit in Christ's person to the Divine will. . . .

Since eternal salvation proceeds solely from the merits and death of Jesus Christ, it follows that the merit of our own works is mere vanity and folly, not to say impiety and senseless impudence. If we could have been saved by our own works, it would not have been necessary for Christ to die. All who have ever come to God, have come to him through the death of Jesus Christ. . . .

Some people, perhaps more dainty than pious, object that this doctrine of Grace renders men careless and dissolute. But of what importance are the fears and objections that the daintiness

of men may suggest? Whosoever believes in Jesus Christ is assured that all that cometh from God is necessarily good. If, therefore, the Gospel is of God, it is good. And what other power besides could implant righteousness, truth, and love among men? Oh, God, most gracious, most righteous Father of all mercies, with what charity thou hast embraced us, thine enemies! With what lofty and unfailing hopes hast thou filled us who deserved to feel nothing but despair! and to what glory hast thou called, in thy Son, our meanness and our nothingness! Thou willest, by this unspeakable love, to constrain us to return thee love for love! . . .

The Christian delivered from the law depends entirely on Jesus Christ. Christ is his reason, his counsel, his righteousness, and his whole salvation. Christ lives and acts in him. Christ alone is his leader, and he needs no other guide. If a government forbid its citizens under pain of death to receive any pension or largess from the hands of foreigners, how mild and easy is this law to those who, from love to their country and their liberty, voluntarily abstain from so culpable an action! But, on the contrary, how vexatious and oppressive it is to those who consult their own interest alone! Thus the righteous man lives free and joyful in the love of righteousness, and the unrighteous man walks murmuring under the heavy burden of the law that oppresses him! . . .

Works done out of Christ are worthless. Since everything is done of him, in him, and by him, what can we lay claim to for ourselves? Wherever there is faith in God, there God is; and wherever God abideth, there a zeal exists urging and impelling men to good works. Take care only that Christ is in thee, and that thou art in Christ, and doubt not that then he is at work in thee. The life of a Christian is one perpetual good work which God begins, continues, and completes. . . .

The reverend coadjutor speaks of doctrines that are seditious and subversive of the civil laws. Let him learn that Zurich is more tranquil and more obedient to the laws than any other city of the Helvetians,—a circumstance which all good citizens ascribe to the Gospel. Is not Christianity the strongest bulwark of justice among a nation? What is the result of all ceremonies but shamefully to disguise the features of Christ and of his disciples? Yes! there is another way besides these vain observances to bring the unlearned people to the knowledge of the truth. It is that which Christ and his Apostles followed—the Gospel itself! Let us not fear that the people cannot understand it. He who believes, understands. The people can believe; they can, therefore, understand. This is a work of the Holy Ghost, and not of mere human reason. As for that matter, let him who is not satisfied with forty days, fast all the year if he please; it is a matter of indifference to me. All that I require is, that no one should be compelled to fast, and that for so trivial an observance the Zurichers should not be accused of withdrawing from the communion of the Christians. . . .

The universal Church is spread over the whole world, wherever there is faith in Christ, in India as well as at Zurich. . . . And as for particular churches, we have them at Berne, at Schaffhausen, and even here. But the popes, with their cardinals and their councils, form neither the universal Church nor a particular Church. The assembly before which I now speak is the Church of Zurich; it desires to hear the word of God, and it has the right of ordering all that may appear to it conformable with the Holy Scriptures.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

WHILE it is impossible to mention even by title the great number of works necessarily drawn on in compiling and revising the material for such a collection as this, it is pertinent to say that in revising dates, while almost, if not quite every, recognized authority in general use has been frequently consulted, the Century Dictionary of Names and the British Encyclopedia, when in agreement, have been found nearly always correct, and accepted as authority against the authority of any single work. While it cannot be claimed that the wide differences on points of chronology frequently existing among standard authorities have been reconciled, every date in the original matter throughout the entire collection has been subjected to at least three editorial revisions and two comparisons by different editors with different authorities. In addition to this, invaluable assistance in securing the maximum of accuracy has been given by Mr. E. S. Myers, the superintendent of the typographical department of The Werner Company, and by Miss Laura A. Newbauer, of the proof-reading department of the same company.

For suggestions and for lists of orators to which the work is largely indebted for its success, editors and publisher owe their thanks to judges of supreme and other courts, attorney-generals, superintendents of education, leading librarians, prominent lawyers, and public men in all parts of the Union. Such lists and suggestions were received and utilized from every part of the United States and from England. The scope of the work, as it now stands complete, attests their value.

While the debt owed to librarians all over the country is notable, the obligation to the leading libraries of St. Louis and New York is especially heavy. Their intelligent and ready co-operation has saved

much expenditure, both of money and time. The translations from foreign languages used are nearly always from authorities already accepted as standard, it being a part of the working plan of the collection to prefer accepted standard translations, where available, to special translations. The texts of the Bohn Library (Macmillan and Company, New York and London) were most heavily drawn upon. For original texts of the French Revolutionary period, the heaviest obligation the work is under, to any single collection, is to that of Professor H. Morse Stephens, which represent a high degree of excellence. Thanks are returned to publishers and photographers for permission to use copyrighted works, and in every instance care has been taken to preserve copyright for its owners by giving credit in connection with the text or picture used.

PREFACE TO THE INDEXES

EACH of the Indexes which follow is complete in itself, but all are intended to supplement each other. The General Index, which was intended to be an exhaustive analysis of the subjects dealt with in the text, is reinforced by Chronological Indexes which, when used in connection with it, will give the chronological sequence of events in a way which it is hoped will be permanently valuable, not only to the general reader, but to the special student of history, law, religion, politics, literature, and other departments of intellectual activity. The Indexes in their order are as follows:—

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While the Indexes taken together are perhaps the most exhaustive analysis accompanying any historical and general collection in print, it is not claimed or believed that they are actually exhaustive of the immense variety of topics, the practically limitless thought, represented in nearly four thousand pages of text, which embrace the most notable utterances of so many of the strongest thinkers of history. It is hoped, however, that the general reader and the specialist will be able to use the indexes to focus the maximum intellect represented in the ten volumes on a given point in a way which will do much to make the costly conclusions from the painful experiences of the past, here collected and summarized, available for the progress of the future.

GENERAL INDEX OF ORATORS

ABÉLARD — ZWINGLI

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